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A SECOND

DISCOURSE

IN

VINDICATION

OF THE

Proteſtant Grounds of *Faith*,

Againſt the

Pretence of INFALLIBILITY

In the

ROMAN CHURCH,

In Anſwer to

The *Guide* in *Controverſies* by *R. H*

Proteſtancy without *Principles*,

AND

Reaſon and *Religion*, or the *Certain Rule* of *Faith* by *E. W.*

With a particular Enquiry into the Miracles of the *Roman Church.*

By *Edward Stillingfleet* D. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.

LONDON,

Printed by *R. W.* for *H. Mortlock*, at the Sign of the *Phœnix* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, and at the *White Hart* in *Weſtminſter Hall*. 1673.

To the Right Honourable

ANTHONY
Earl of SHAFTSBURY,
Lord High Chancellour
OF
ENGLAND, &c.

My Lord,

I HOPE it will not be thought unſeaſonable to make an Addreſs of this nature to Your *Lordſhip* in the Beginning of Term, ſince the great *Cauſe* at preſent in Your Court (as one of late pleaſantly ſaid) is that between the *King* and the *Pope*, between our *Church* and the *Church* of *Rome*. And

while so many Witnesses are daily sworn of the *Kings* and the *Churches* side; it may not be improper to lay open to Your *Lordship* the *Nature* and *Merits* of the *Cause*.

A *Cause*, My Lord, which was at first set on Foot by Ambition, carried on by Faction, and must therefore be maintained by the like means; but can never hope to prevail among us again, till *Subjection* to a *Forreign Power* can be thought our *Interest*, and to part at once with *Reason* and *Religion* be esteemed our *Honour*. It is a *Cause* much of the nature of some others depending before Your *Lordship*, more vexatious than difficult; and managed by such Advocates who being retained in the Cause, though they have nothing material to say for it, yet are ashamed to be silent. Who are alwayes disputing about an end of Controversies, but at the same time do their utmost to increase and per-

perpetuate them; and are ready to foment our differences that they may make uſe of them to their own advantage.

While we have ſuch reſtleſs Adverſaries to deal with, part of our danger lyes in being too ſecure of the *Goodneſs* of our *Cauſe*: and methinks there can be little ſatisfaction in lying ſtill or quarrelling with each other, when we know our *common* enemies to be at work undermining of us. But whatever repoſe others enjoy, my Adverſaries ſeem to deal with me, as ſome do with thoſe whom they ſuſpect of Witchcraft; they think by pinching me ſo often, and keeping me from taking reſt, to make me ſay at laſt as they would have me. But the comfort is, as long as I am ſecure of my ſenſes, I am of my Religion againſt theirs: if I once loſe them or my underſtanding, I know not whether it may be my fortune to be carried to

Rome, or ſome more convenient place. And in my opinion they deal with thoſe under their care, as if they believed them not to be in their right ſenſes, for they keep them alwayes in the dark, and think nothing more dangerous than to let in light upon them. Wherein I cannot deny, but conſidering the *nature* of their *Cauſe*, they take the moſt effectual courſe to maintain it; for it not being capable of enduring a ſevere tryal, nothing can preſerve its reputation, but *Ignorance* and *Credulity*: which are therefore in ſo great eſteem among them, that if it were a Cuſtome to Canonize Things as well as Perſons, we might find thoſe ſacred names in their Litanies; and addreſſes as ſolemn made to them, as ever were to Faith and Vertue among the elder and wiſer *Romans*.

I need not go far, for an Inſtance of their deſign to advance, even in this

this Inquiſitive Age, the Honour of theſe two great Pillars of their Church: For if your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to caſt Your eye on the following Diſcourſe, eſpecially that part which concerns the *Miracles of the Roman Church*, You will find ſufficient evidence of it almoſt in every Page. When I firſt engaged in this Controverſie I could hardly believe what I now ſee, that they would ever have brought it to this iſſue with me, viz. *That they would renounce all claim to Infallibility, if they did not produce as great Miracles wrought in their Church to atteſt it, as ever were wrought by Chriſt or his Apoſtles.* The boldneſs of which aſſertion, and the pernicious influence of it upon Chriſtianity it ſelf, hath made me take the more pains in the examination of it. Which I have done with ſo much care in conſulting their own approved *Authors*, that I hope at laſt they will grow aſhamed

of

of that groundleſs calumny, that I do not deal fairly in the citing of them. A calumny ſo void of proof, that I could deſire no better argument of a baffled Cauſe, than ſuch impertinent Clamours. But if impudent ſayings will ſerve their turn, they need never fear what can be written againſt them. Do they indeed think me a man ſo void of common ſenſe, as to expoſe my ſelf ſo eaſily to the contempt of every one that will but take pains to compare my citations? Have I the Books only in my own keeping? or are they ſo rare that they cannot get a ſight of them? How then come they to know them to be falſe quoted? But alas! they are men of buſineſs, and have not leiſure to ſearch out and compare Books, and therefore the ſhorteſt way is to ſay, that *without doubt they are all falſe*. Their numbers certainly are not ſo ſmall, nor their buſineſs ſo great,

great, but they might have ſpared ſome to have undertaken this task particularly, if I had been faulty: and in my mind it had been of ſome conſequence to have freed their Church from thoſe heavy imputations of *Fanaticiſm, and deſtroying the neceſsity of a good life*, from the Teſtimony of their own Authors. But if theſe could not move them, I deſire them not to ſpare me in this preſent ſubject of *Miracles*, wherein I profeſs to relye on the Teſtimony of their own Writers; if they ſhew me any wilful miſtakes therein, I will endeavour to give them publick ſatisfaction.

Were I not well aſſured, *My Lord*, of the *Strength* of my *Evidence*, as well as of the *Goodneſs* of my *Cauſe*, I ſhould never have appeared in it before a *Perſon* of ſo ſharp and piercing a Judgement as Your *Lordſhip*. But I have the rather preſumed to offer this Diſcourſe into Your *Lordſhips* hands, and

and to send it abroad under the Protection of Your Name, not only thereby to acknowledge the particular Favours I have received from Your *Lordship*; but to thank You on a more publick Account, I mean for Your late generous owning the *Cause of our Religion* and *Church* in so Critical a time; which not only gives a present Lustre to Your Name, but will preserve it with Honour to Posterity. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obliged and faithful Servant

Edward Stillingfleet.

The

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Chap. I.

An Answer to the Guide in Controversies about Infallibility, and the Resolution of Faith.

§. 1. THere are two great Pleas for the necessity of Infallibility in the Roman Church, one to make an end of Controversies, the other to lay a sufficient Foundation for divine Faith. Having therefore fully examined the former Plea in the foregoing discourse, I shall now proceed to the latter; with a particular respect to those Adversaries, who have undertaken the Defence of the Cause of the Church of *Rome* against me in this Controversie. And because all this dispute refers to the Principles of Faith, I shall undertake to shew,

The state of the Controversie about Infallibility, and the Resolution of Faith.

1. That

1. That the Principles laid down by them are falſe and fallacious.

2. That the Proteſtant Principles defended by me are ſound and true.

1. For the better examination of their Principles, I ſhall give a brief account of the Riſe and State of this Controverſie about the Grounds of Faith. The Arch-Biſhops Adverſary in Conference with him, asked *how he knew the Scripture to be the Word of God*, hoping thereby to drive him to the neceſſity of owning *the Infallible Teſtimony of the preſent Roman Church:* but he failed ſo much of his end, that the Arch-Biſhop fully proved, "that ſuch a Teſtimony could not be "the Foundation of that Faith, whereby we "believe the Scriptures, to be the Word of "God; and that there are ſufficient Grounds "for Faith without it. One of the great ar-"guments whereby he diſproved that way of "Reſolving Faith was, that it was impoſſible "to avoid a vitious circle in proving the "Churches Infallibility by Scripture, and "the Scripture by the Infallible Teſtimony of "the Church. This difficulty, which hath puzled the greateſt Wits of the Roman Church, his Anſwerer thought to avoid by ſaying, *that the Churches Infallibility was not primarily proved by the Scripture, but by the Motives of Credibility which belong to the Church*

Church in the ſame manner that Moſes and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles were proved to be Infallible. Which bold aſſertion obliged me in a large diſcourſe to ſhew theſe three things. 1. That this way of reſolving Faith was manifeſtly unreaſonable. 2. That ſuppoſing it true he could not avoid the circle by it. 3. That it was falſe and built on no other ground but a daring confidence.

1. The firſt I proved. 1. Becauſe an Aſſent is hereby required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence; the Aſſent required being Infallible and the evidence only probable and prudential Motives. 2. Becauſe hereby they muſt run into all the Abſurdities they would ſeek to avoid, it being impoſſible to give a better account of Faith by the Infallibility of the Roman Church, than we can do without it; both ſides acknowledging that thoſe Motives of Credibility do hold for the Scriptures, which are by us denied to belong to their Church, and if faith as to the Scriptures be uncertain if it rely on them, much more muſt it be ſo as to the Churches Infallibility: If divine Faith as to the Scriptures can reſt upon motives of Credibility, there can be no neceſſity of the Churches Infallibility to a divine faith; if it cannot, how come thoſe motives to be a ſufficient

ficient ground for such a Faith as to the Church? For the Churches Infallibility being the reason as to them of believing the things contained in the Scripture, it ought to be believed with a faith equally divine with that whereby we are to believe the Scriptures which are the instrument of conveying the matters of Faith to us. Besides, this leaves every mans reason to be judge in the choice of his Religion; because every man must satisfie himself as to the credibility of those motives. And after all, this way of Resolving Faith by the Churches Infallibility, doth unsettle the very Foundations of Faith laid by Christ and his Apostles, who all supposed a rational certainty of the motives of Faith to be a sufficient Foundation for it; but the pretence of Infallibility doth overthrow the evidence of sense and reason and put the whole tryal of the Truth of Christianity upon the pitiful proofs which they bring for the Church of *Romes* Infallibility. And when they have brought men to it they cannot assure them what that Church is to which they attribute this Infallibility to, who in that Church are the proper subjects of it; what kind of Infallibility it is; nor when the Church doth define Infallibly so many things are to be believed without reason, both as the persons who are to de-

fine

fine; and the manner of their definitions.

2. Supposing this way true, the Circle still remains: which I proved by three things. 1. From the nature of the faith they enquire for a resolution of, which is not humane but Divine Faith. For the Question was not, whether by another kind of Assent they could not escape the circle; but whether they could so in the resolution of Divine Faith or not: Either then the Churches Infallibility is not to be believed with a Divine Faith, or there may be a Divine Faith without an Infallible Testimony, or this Divine Faith of the Churches Infallibility, must be built on the Scripture, and so the Circle returns. 2. From the persons whose faith is to be resolved; the way of resolving faith being a different thing from proving a matter of Faith to an Adversary; granting then that to those who deny the Churches Infallibility, but allow the Scriptures, they may prove the one by the other: yet this signifies nothing to the Resolution of their own Faith, which is the thing enquired after: and yet even in proving to Adversaries the Churches Infallibility from Scripture, they cannot avoid the Circle, when the Question returns about the sense of those places; for then they must run to the Church; because the Church which is Infallible hath delivered this to be the sense of them.

3. From

3. From the nature of that Infallibility which they attribute to the Church, which being not by immediate divine Revelation, but by a Supernatural Assistance promised in Scripture it is impossible to prove this Infallibility, but by first proving the truth of the Scripture wherein these promises are contained, and so the Circle still returns; for they believe the Scriptures Infallible because of the Churches Testimony, and they believe the Church Infallible because of the Promises of her Assistance recorded in Scripture.

3. It is false that there are the same motives of credibility as to the Churches Infallibility which there were for the Infallibility of *Moses* and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles which *T. C.* therefore very wisely declined to prove, and only said it was sufficient to shew how he had escaped the Circle.

The Principles of the Guide in Controversies.

Guide in Contro. *disc.* 3. *Ch* 10. *Sect.* 123.

§. 2. This is a brief account of that part of the Resolution of Faith which hath been since assaulted by two several Adversaries but in different ways. The first of them is *the Guide in Controversies*; who ingenuously confesseth *the Question about the Resolution of Faith upon their Principles to be intricate*, so any one might easily guess by the intricacy and obscurity of his answer to it. I shall endeavour to bring it to as much clearness as possibly

possibly I can; that I may the better represent the force and consequences of it. The substance of what he saith, may be reduced to these propositions.

1. *That the Church may be considered two ways.* 1. *As a Society already manifested by Divine Revelation (whether written or unwritten) to be infallibly assisted by the Holy Ghost.* 2. *As a Society of men whose Testimony is to be received upon prudential motives.* Sect. 126.

2. *That the Church being considered in the former of the two acceptions; the infallible authority and testimony thereof is not only an introductive into, but one of the articles of divine faith; and that so many as believe the Churches Infallibility in this sense, may safely resolve their divine faith of other articles of their belief into its delivering them as such.* Sect. 127.

3. *That whatever this Infallible Authority of the Church be, it is not necessary that every one for attaining a divine and saving faith, be infallibly certain of this Infallible Authority; or as he elsewhere expresseth it; that it is not necessary for divine faith, that it should always have an external rationally-infallible ground, or motive thereto (whether Church-authority or any other) on his part that so believes: or that he have some extrinsecal* Ibid. Sect. 135.

extrinsecal motive or proponent of which he is infallibly certain that it is infallible.

Sect. 143. -153. 148. 4. *There are two sorts of faith to be resolved divine and humane, or infused and acquisite; the one is always built upon divine Revelation, the other needs no more than prudential motives, or such as are sufficiently credible or morally infallible; on which an acquired or humane faith securely rests.*

Sect. 144, 145. 5. *That there must be particular ultimate divine Revelation, (which may not be to all the same but to some one, to some another, viz. either Scripture, or Churches Testimony, or Apostolical Tradition or Miracles) beyond which he can resolve his divine faith no further, for proving or confirming which revelation, he can produce no other divine revelation, but there must end; unless a process be made* in infinitum, *or a running round.*

Sect. 145. 6. *Divine Faith as to such altimate particular divine Revelation, cannot be grounded meerly on Gods veracity, but that God hath said this particular thing which we believe (namely that the testimony of the Church, or Apostles, or Scriptures is true) which must either be grounded (that it may be the Foundation of a divine faith) on some other divine Revelation and so* in infinitum, *or else I must rest there with an immediate assent to it.*

7. *The*

7. *The internal efficient of all Divine faith is the power or Grace of the Holy Ghoſt illuminating the underſtanding, that the prime verity cannot lye in whatever thing it reveals; and alſo that the particular articles of our faith are its Revelations; and perſwading and operating in the Will ſuch a firm adherence unto theſe articles, as many times far exceeds that of any humane ſcience or demonſtration.* Sect

8. *The ultimate reſolution of a Chriſtians divine faith, as to the extrinſecal prime motive, ground, reaſon or principle thereof, that equals in certainty the faith built upon it, can be no other than that particular divine Revelation which is firſt made known to him, or from which in building his faith he proceeds to the reſt; as to the internal efficient, it is into the Grace of the Holy Spirit.* Sect

9. *The motives of credibility, or the rational evidence of the truth of Chriſtianity do ſerve indeed antecedently for an introductive to, or (after it introduced) for a confirmative of this divine faith,* i. e. *to make it credible or acceptable to humane reaſon (my own or others) that this faith is true and no way liable to error; that I am aſſured in it by the holy and no ſeducing Spirit; but not to conſtitute it in the notion of faith di-* Sect. 148.

vine; because the faith so stiled is supposed to rest always on an higher ground, viz. Revelation Divine.

Sect. 153. *10. That the infallibility of the Church grounded on Divine Revelation and believed by a divine faith is a main ground and pillar of a Catholicks faith for any other articles thereof, that are established by the same Churches Definitions, where the Scriptures, or Tradition Apostolick are to him doubtful. Of which ground and assurance of such points (believed by Catholicks from the Churches infallible Authority) the Protestants faith is destitute.*

Those Principles considered.

§. 3. These are the Principles upon which this Guide in Controversies undertakes to clear this intricate Question, and to free their resolution of faith from the danger of a circle; I have but two small things to object against this way. 1. That it gives up the cause in dispute. 2. That notwithstanding it doth not avoid the main difficulties.

§ 1. That it gives up the cause in Dispute: which was whether the Infallible Testimony of the Church be the necessary Foundation of Divine Faith? for upon occasion of the supposed necessity of this Infallibility, the Question was first started, this Infallibility being asserted to be necessary by *T. C.* and was

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the thing I chiefly oppoſed in the diſcourſe of the Reſolution of Faith. Now this the Guide in Controverſies freely yields to me, and conſequently the main Foundation of Faith aſſerted by my Adverſary is deſtroyed: as plainly appears by the third Propoſition, wherein he affirms *that an external infallible propoſer is not neceſſary to divine Faith.* But this he doth not barely affirm, but, he ſaith, it is copiouſly proved by many learned Catholicks: and to this purpoſe he cites *Cardinal Lugo* ſpeaking of Divine Faith, who ſaith, *that the infallibility of the Church cannot be the firſt Ground of Divine Faith; becauſe this Infallible Authority of the Church by Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt is it ſelf an article of Divine Faith. And experience tells us that all Children or adult perſons firſt coming to the Faith, do not apprehend much leſs infallibly believe, this Infallible Authority in the Church before any other article of Faith. And in the Law of Nature and under the Law of* Moſes, *the Churches propoſition was not neceſſary in order to faith; but the inſtruction of Parents was ſufficient in one, and the doctrine of* Moſes *and the Prophets in the other, before their Prophecies were received by the Church.* He cites *Eſtius* likewiſe ſpeaking of this Divine and Salvifical faith, *that it is not ma-*

Lugo *de virtute Fidei diſp.* 1. *Sect.* 12. P. 247.

Eſti. in 3. *ſent.* 23. *d. Sect.* 13.

terial to faith what medium God makes use of to bestow this gift of Faith upon men: many having believed that knew nothing of the Churches infallibility. He cites *Layman* asserting that it often comes to pass, *that other articles of our faith are explicitly believed before that of the Churches Infallibility; and withal this Infallibility of the Church, depends upon the promise of the spirit; therefore men must first believe that there is a spirit of God and consequently the holy Trinity. Farther* saith he, *it is plain that the primitive Christians did believe with divine Faith, not for the Authority of the Church, which either was not founded yet (when St.* Peter *believed Christ to be the Son of the living God) or had not defined any doctrines of Faith.* Again he denies *the Churches Authority to be the formal principle or motive of Faith*; and that for this very good reason, *because this infallible Authority of the Church is one of the things to be believed.* Nay he cites *Fa. Knot* himself in his reply to *Chillingworth* affirming *Christians may have a true Infallible Divine Faith, of which faith they have only a fallible proponent, nor are infallibly certain thereof, i.e.* as to the proponent. I now appeal to the indifferent reader whether the main thing contended for by me, *viz.* that the infallible Testimony of the Church

Paul. Layman. *Theolog. moral.* 2. l. tr. 1. c. 5.

Knots answer to *Chillingworth* p. 358.

Church is not neceſſary in order to Faith, be not here fully granted to me?

2. But yet the account of Faith here given is very far from clearing the chief difficulties of it, as will appear by theſe two things. 1. That this reſolution of Divine Faith is very unſatisfactory in it ſelf. 2. That it is liable to the abſurdities which he ſeeks to avoid by it.

1. That the reſolution of Divine Faith laid down by him is very unſatisfactory in it ſelf: the principles of which are theſe. 1. That Divine Faith muſt reſt upon Divine Revelation. 2. This Divine Revelation upon which faith is built is that which is firſt made known to the perſon, and from which he proceeds to other matters of faith. 3. This Divine Revelation is not one and the ſame to all, but to ſome the Authority of the Scriptures, to ſome the Authority of the Church, to ſome Apoſtolical Tradition. 4. Divine Faith muſt reſt upon this Revelation with an immediate aſſent to it, without enquiring further, for if there be any further proceſs there muſt be ſo *in infinitum* or a circle. 5. That the Holy Ghoſt doth illuminate the underſtanding of him that believes, both as to the veracity of God and the truth of his Revelation, and cauſes ſuch a firm adherence of faith, as many times far exceeds that of any

humane Science or demonstrations. But in this way I can neither be satisfied, 1. What that particular divine Revelation is, which this divine Faith doth rest upon? Nor 2. How this Faith can equally rest in several persons upon several ways? Nor 3. How it can rest with an immediate assent upon any way? Nor 4. Wherein this way differs from resolving Faith into the Testimony of the Spirit?

Of particular divine Revelation as the ground of Faith.

§. 4. I cannot understand what that particular divine Revelation is into which as into its prime extrinsecal motive, Faith is here resolved? The thing enquired after is the reason of believing the truth of what God hath publickly revealed to mankind, as we say he hath done the Doctrines of Christianity; the ultimate resolution of divine Faith as to this I am told is that particular divine Revelation, which is first made known to a man: is this particular divine Revelation the same with Gods publick and general Revelation or distinct from it? If it be the same it can offer no reason for my Faith, unless the same thing may be proved by it self; if it be different, then God makes use of particular divine Revelations to men different from his publick, into which they are to resolve their Faith. Suppose then the Question be thus put, why

do

do you believe that Christ shall come to judge the quick and the dead? The general Answer is, because God that cannot lie hath revealed it; but then the Question returns on what ground do you believe this Revelation to have been from God with such a divine Faith as must rest upon divine Revelation? For such you assert to be necessary. To this *the Guide in Controversies* Answers, *that the ultimate resolution of a Christians divine Faith is into that particular divine Revelation first made known to him.* What particular divine Revelation I beseech him is that, on which I ground the divine Faith of this Proposition, that the Doctrine of Scripture is Gods Revelation? For of that we enquire. It cannot be understood of the rational evidence of the truth of the divine Revelation; for that is asserted by him not to be a sufficient foundation for divine Faith, which must rest upon nothing short of divine Revelation: I would gladly be informed and directed by this *Guide in Controversies*, since I must believe Gods Revelation with a divine Faith, and this divine Faith must rest upon a divine Revelation; what that particular divine Revelation is on which I am to believe with divine Faith, the truth of Gods publick and general Revelation? I have endeavoured to find out what his meaning herein is, but I

confeſs I cannot: ſometimes he ſeems to deny any reſolution at all of this divine faith into any further principles, and quotes *Layman* with approbation, who ſaith, *that the formal reaſon of believing what God ſaith is his veracity; but that God hath revealed ſuch things to us, cannot be any further reſolved or proved by divine Faith.* In the next Section he ſaith, *That divine Faith doth not reſolve into an extrinſecal, even morally infallible motive thereof either as the formal cauſe, or always as the applicative introductive or condition of this divine Faith.* From whence it follows, that this divine Faith may be where there is neither infallible nor prudential motive; *i. e.* it may be, where no account at all can be given of it; for all motives muſt be of one ſort or other; and yet this divine Faith doth reſt upon a particular divine Revelation, of which ſince no account can be given, it is unreaſonable to expect it. But I will try yet further by an Inſtance of his own. The Queſtion put by him is, why he believes the things contained in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, to be divinely revealed; he Anſwers, *That he reſolves his Faith of the truth of thoſe contents not into the Churches ſaying they are true, although he believe all that true the Church ſaith, but into divine Revelation; becauſe God by his Evangeliſt delivereth*

d. 133.

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delivereth them for truth. Again he ſaith, *When he believes that all contained in St.* Matthew's *Goſpel is true, becauſe the Church tells him it is ſo, and then believes that the Church telleth him true, becauſe God hath revealed in ſome part of his Word, that the Church in this ſhall not erre*; here his Faith he ſaith, *is ultimately reſolved again, not into the Churches Authority, but the divine Revelation concerning the Church.* This looks like ſomething at firſt hearing, if one do not preſs too far in the examination of it; but being throughly ſearched into, how profound ſoever it may ſeem, it is ſcarce tolerable ſenſe upon his own principles. For it is agreed now on all hands that in the Queſtion of the reſolution of Faith, the enquiry is not why we believe what God reveals, but why we believe this to be a divine Revelation; and the Queſtion is now put particularly concerning the doctrine contained in St. *Matthews* Goſpel: his principles are, *That this muſt be believed by divine Faith, and that this Faith muſt reſt upon divine Revelation*; I now enquire upon what particular divine Revelation he doth build this act of divine Faith, *that St.* Matthew's *Goſpel contains the Word of God?* He Anſwers, firſt, *Though he believes it to be true becauſe the Church ſaith it is ſo, yet his Faith is not reſolved into the Churches*

Teſtimony,

Testimony, but into divine Revelation? What *divine Revelation* doth he mean? that which is in Question? viz. *That St.* Matthew's *Gospel is divine Revelation*: if so then he doth not believe it because the Church saith it, but if he doth believe it because of the Churches Testimony, then it cannot be on the account of Gods delivering it for truth by the Evangelist. For doth he believe it because the Evangelist saith so or not? If he doth, then he doth not believe it, because the Church saith it, if he doth not believe it because the Evangelist saith it, then he must believe it because the Church saith it, and so his Faith must be resolved into the Churches Testimony, which if it be a divine Faith, must according to his own principles suppose that the Churches Testimony is a divine Revelation, and the formal object of divine Faith. The same absurdity lies in the other Answer, *He believes*, he saith, *that all contained in St.* Matthew's *Gospel is true because the Church telleth him so; and then believes that the Church tells him true, because God hath revealed in some part of his Word, that the Church in this shall not erre.* And yet his Faith is not resolved into the Churches Authority but the divine Revelation concerning the Church. This Answer must be understood either of St. *Matthew's* Gospel being

ing proved by ſome other part of Scripture, and then I grant the circle is avoided; but that doth not anſwer the preſent difficulty, which is concerning the ground of believing not ſome one part of divine Revelation, but the whole: Or elſe it muſt be underſtood of St. *Matthew's* Goſpel being proved by ſome part of it ſelf. And then he reſolves his Faith thus. He believes what St. *Matthew's* Goſpel ſaith concerning the Church, becauſe he believes St. *Matthew's* Goſpel to be true; and believes St. *Matthew's* Goſpel to be true with a divine Faith, becauſe the Church tells him ſo. Can any thing now be more plain than that, he muſt reſolve his Faith into that Authority upon which he believed St. *Matthew's* Goſpel to be true, which himſelf confeſſeth to be that of the Church? Only if a man can be ſo fooliſh to believe firſt the truth of St. *Matthew's* Goſpel, becauſe the Church ſaith it, and at the ſame time believe the Church to ſay true, becauſe St. *Matthew's* Goſpel ſaith ſo, that mans Faith is to be reſolved into nothing but the dancing of Fairies, which have put him into ſuch a circle that he can never find the way out of. But if he mean any thing elſe I know not what to impute ſuch an abſurd way of proceeding to; unleſs it be to a through intoxication of School Divinity, which confounds all true notions and diſtinct

conceptions

conceptions of things, and makes men have such swimming brains, that all things turn round with them.

The resolution of divine Faith must agree to all.

§. 5. 2. But supposing I could understand what this particular divine Revelation meant, into which this divine Faith must be resolved; why may not one particular way serve all mankind for it? Must there be several and all equal foundations of divine Faith? I can easily satisfie my self of the reason of asserting it, but not of the reason of the thing in this way of resolving Faith. The true reason of asserting it was the plain evidence that many persons had a true divine Faith, without knowing any thing of the Churches Infallibility: this made some men in the Church of *Rome* confess that it was not always necessary; but least on the other side they should seem hereby to forego the *Palladium* of that Church, they do withall say, that sometimes Faith may begin there: and so run into the very same absurdities that the others do. For if one man can resolve his Faith well so, why not a hundred, why not a thousand, why not all Christians? If all cannot do it without running into a circle, neither can one; for the process of Faith is alike in all. Not that the same means are used to all persons; for it is evident that men believe upon different grounds; but

what

what is absurd if a thousand do it, is equally absurd if but one do it. Although *the Guide in Controversies* doth not suppose it necessary for men to resolve their Faith into the Churches Infallibility; yet he doth suppose that some men may do it. Well then, we will put the case that any one person doth resolve his Faith concerning Gods Revelation into the Churches Infallibility as the ground of his divine Faith; I desire to be informed by *this worthy Guide*, whether he doth not run into the same absurdities, which all would do if they proceeded that way? *i.e.* whether it be any more possible for one to free himself from a circle than for all? Is not the reason assigned by *Canus* and *Layman*, and *Lugo* this *viz. because the Churches Infallibility is one of the things to be believed as revealed by God, and therefore cannot be the ground of Faith to any?* And will not this reason exclude any one person from doing it, that resolves his Faith as he ought to do? So that if this hold in any one, being drawn from the reason of the thing and not from the circumstances of persons, it must equally hold against all persons, and consequently no one person can reasonably establish his Faith as to Gods Revelation upon the Churches Infallibility.

Of immediate Assent.

§. 6. 3. I am far from understanding this way of *immediate assent* to the divine Revelation. I grant the reason against proceeding further to be very good, for *the Guide* could see no passage that way, but over rocks and precipices; and therefore finds out a shorter cut by asserting an immediate assent to the Divine Revelation. But to what divine Revelation doth he mean? *The Authority of Scripture, Churches Infallibility, Apostolical Tradition*, or any of these? It is all one to me, which it is, for it is equally unreasonable, to all or any of them. For I look upon Faith as an act of the mind, which must always have a reason moving it to assent. Even in self-evident Propositions where the assent is most immediate, yet there is the greatest and clearest reason for it, *viz.* the evidence of the thing, which makes the understanding never hesitate or doubt, but yield a firm assent upon the first apprehension, and proportionable to the reason and evidence of the thing, or of the motive enclining to assent, so is the readiness and firmness of it. But to assert an assent in Faith so immediate, of which no motive or reason can be assigned proportionable to it, is a thing repugnant to the nature of our reasonable faculties, and it is to make one of the noblest acts of our understandings a meer blind and bruitish assent. All that

we enquire for, is a ſufficient reaſon to move our minds to believe in the act of divine Faith: which is ſeen in all the acts of humane Faith. For no man can reaſonably believe what another ſaith, or that he hath ſaid ſo, but he is able to give an account of both of them. And it would be very ſtrange that in the moſt weighty matters of Faith, on which mens eternal happineſs and miſery depend, they ſhould be obliged to aſſent in ſuch an immediate manner that they can have no good account to give of their divine Faith. *Yes*, ſaith the Guide, *an account may be given to make this aſſent appear prudent by the motives of credibility*: But that is not the thing we enquire for; but a ſufficient foundation for divine Faith: and as to this he aſſerts, that our Faith doth immediately reſt upon divine Revelation without proceeding to another Revelation for the ground of it. But how then can this divine Faith have a divine Revelation for its ground? It may have it for its material object, which comes not under our conſideration; but only the formal object or motive of that Faith as to this Revelation. We will ſuppoſe the Churches Infallibility to be the matter believed; I demand a reaſon why this is to be believed: The Anſwer is, *becauſe God hath revealed it in his Word*; there the Queſtion returns what reaſon

ſon have you to believe that to be the Word of God? Here *the Guide* cries out, *ſtand there*; if you proceed a ſtep further you are loſt. For if you ſay upon another Revelation, then that upon another, and ſo without end. But ſay I, you tell me I muſt believe this to be Gods Word with a divine Faith, and this divine Faith muſt reſt upon a divine Revelation as its formal cauſe; aſſign me that, or you overthrow the nature of divine Faith; what divine Revelation is there for this Faith to reſt upon? *None* ſay you, *but here it muſt ſtop*; if ſo, then it is certain by your own principles this either can be no divine Faith, or elſe divine Faith doth not always need a divine Revelation. So that this way of the reſolution of Faith overthrows it ſelf; and needs no other oppoſition but of one part to another.

Of the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt.

§. 7. 4. It may be all this may be cleared by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt ſupplying the want of another Revelation, by its illuminating and confirming the mind. So the Tragœdians of old call'd down the Gods upon the Stage, when they could extricate themſelves by no other means. Not that I do in the leaſt doubt the efficiency of the divine Spirit in the act and exerciſe of Faith; or that God by ſecret and unexpreſſible ways may ſtrengthen

hen and increaſe Grace in the hearts of men, which thereby become better aſſured of the things they believe. But the Queſtion now is whether our Faith, as to the motive and reaſon of it can, or ought to be reſolved into the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt? And in truth after all his turnings and windings *the Guide* ſits down at laſt in the groſſeſt way of reſolving divine faith into the Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt. For he ſaith *that doth illuminate the underſtanding that the prime verity cannot lie in whatever thing it reveals, and alſo that the particular articles of our faith are its revelations.* Was ever any thing more fully ſaid to this purpoſe by the higheſt Calviniſts or Enthuſiaſts? Have the diſputants of the *Church* of *Rome* hitherto charged them with a circle in this reſolution of faith, equal with theirs between the Church and Scripture; and hath the very *Guide in Controverſies* found no way to eſcape one whirlpool, but by falling into another? But ſince I ſee no reaſon to believe this *Guide in Controverſies* to be infallible, any more than the Pope himſelf, I hope I may have leave to ask him ſome few Queſtions. Doth he in earneſt believe that our aſſurance of Gods veracity and the truth of his revelations do flow from the immediate illumination of the Spirit of God?

I would fain know then, 1. Why he trouble himſelf about any other reſolution of faith? For by this way he reſolves faith in all the parts of it. If you ask the firſt Queſtion, why you believe that to be true which God reveals? The Anſwer is ready, *the Holy Ghoſt illuminates my mind in the belief of this.* If you again ask, why you believe theſe particular articles to be Gods revelations; the anſwer is already given, *the ſame Holy Ghoſt illuminates my mind in that too.* What need Church-Infallibility, Apoſtolical Tradition, motives of credibility, or any other way; the work is compleatly and effectually done without the aſſiſtance of any of them? 2. Is not this to tell unbelievers that we can give them no ſatisfaction as to the grounds of our divine faith? It is true, he grants ſomething may be ſaid for a dull kind of *humane and acquiſite faith*, which others are capable of underſtanding; but for *divine faith* that depends upon ſuch ſecret and private illuminations, which no perſon can at all judge of, but he that hath them; nor he very well, unleſs another revelation aſſures him, that theſe are the illuminations of Gods Spirit and not the deceptions of his own. Eſpecially ſince it is a principle in the Roman Church that no man can attain any abſolute certainty of Grace without a particular

ar Revelation from God. See then what a wilderneſs *this Guide* hath led us into! We are to believe that what God hath revealed is true, and that he hath revealed theſe things, from the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt: but we cannot certainly know that we have ſuch an illumination without another revelation to diſcover that; and ſo we muſt run on without end or turn back again the ſame way we went, to believe illumination by revelation and revelation by illumination. 3. How he can poſſibly give himſelf any good account of his faith in this manner? For ſince the fundamental principle of faith is the veracity of God, and the belief of Gods veracity is here attributed to the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt; we may ſee how excellent *a Guide* this is, that thus ſtumbles in a plain way, or muſt of neceſſity go forward and backward. For I deſire him to ſatisfie me according to this reſolution of faith, in this Queſtion; why he doth believe whatſoever God ſaith is true? his Anſwer is, *becauſe the Holy Ghoſt by his inward illumination aſſured me ſo*; But then I ask again, why he is aſſured of the truth of what the Holy Ghoſt enlightens him? his Anſwer muſt be if he ſpeaks at all to the purpoſe, *becauſe the Holy Ghoſt is God and cannot ſpeak any thing but truth.* So that the veracity

of God is proved by the Spirits Illumination, and the Spirits Illumination by God's veracity. But there is yet another principle which faith ſtands upon, which is, that God hath revealed the things we believe; here again I ask why he believes theſe articles are Gods revelations, his anſwer is, *the Holy Ghoſt by enlightening my mind hath aſſured me of it.* But then I ask how he is ſure with a divine faith, which in this caſe is neceſſary that there is a Holy Ghoſt and that this is the illumination of the Holy Ghoſt? Here he muſt return again to divine Revelation, wherein the promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt is made. Judge now, Reader, whether this be not an admirable *Guide in Controverſies* and whether he hath not given a very ſatisfactory account of the Reſolution of Faith?

The abſurdities of theſe principles.

§. 8. Beſides that this way is thus unſatisfactory in it ſelf, I have this further charge againſt it, that other ways are liable only to the ſingle abſurdities of their own particular opinions; but this blind Guide hoping to clear himſelf of one great abſurdity, hath not only run into it the very way he ſeeks to eſcape it, but into many more beſides. If there be any thing abſurd in the *Calviniſts* Reſolution of Faith he hath taken in that; if there be any thing abſurd in reſolving faith by the Infallibility

infallibility of the Church he is liable to that too; becauſe though he doth not think it neceſſary he allows it to be good; and laſt of all that which he looks upon as the advantage of their faith above ours plungeth him unavoidably in as bad a circle as may be. And that is, *That the Infallibility of the Church being once believed by a divine Faith from the Revelation of it in Scripture it is a ground of faith to him in all controverſies that ariſe concerning the ſenſe of Scripture*; I am not now to examine the falſeneſs of the pretence, (which hath been done already and may be more afterwards) that which at preſent I am to ſhew, is, that it is impoſſible for him in his reſolution of Faith concerning the ſenſe of Scripture to avoid the circle. Let us ſee how he attempts it, *Suppoſe I be asked*, ſaith he, *concerning ſome article of faith defined by the Church, though the ſame article doth not appear to me clearly delivered in the Scriptures, why with a divine faith I believe it to be divine Revelation? I anſwer, becauſe the Church which is revealed by the Scriptures to be perpetually aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt, and to be infallible for ever in matters delivered by her, hath delivered it to me as ſuch. If again why with a divine faith I believe theſe Scriptures in general or ſuch a ſenſe of thoſe texts in particular, which are* Sect. 151.

pretended to reveal the Churches infallibility to be divine Revelation? I answer as before, because Apostolical Tradition hath delivered them to be so: which Apostolical Tradition related or conveyed to me by the Church I believe with a divine faith by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, without having at all any further Divine Revelation, from which I should believe this Revelation to be divine. This is the utmost progress of divine faith with him. I know not how much faith there may be in this way, I am sure there is not the least shadow of reason. For if a stop be made at last by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, what need so much ado to come thither? Might not the same answer have served as well to the first and second Question as to the third? When you were asked why with a divine faith you believe such a sense of Scripture to be divine Revelation? Might not you have hindred all further proceeding by saying, I believe it with a divine faith by the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, without having at all any further divine Revelation. But if you thought it necessary to assign another divine Revelation for the foundation of that faith, by the Churches Infallibility, why will not the same reason hold for the last act? which must have as good a Foundation as the other, or else

how

how comes it to be *a divine faith* as well as the other? But the ſubtilty of all this is, you have it ſeems by your office of *Guide* the opening of the Gate, and you hold it open ſo long as to let through all your Friends, for Infallibility and Tradition muſt by any means be let through, and when theſe are paſſed, down falls the Gate in ſo rude a manner as is enough to cripple any other that endeavours to get paſſage. Can any man poſſibly aſſign a reaſon, why the operation of the Spirit ſhould not have as great force, before the Churches Infallibility be let in? But this it is to be *a Guide in Controverſies*, to direct Infallibility, Tradition and the Holy Ghoſt to know their diſtance and to keep their due places; and it is a great favour that the Holy Spirit is allowed to bring up the rear and to make all ſure, but by no means to offer to go before Infallibility or Tradition. For theſe are capable of doing better ſervice afterwards than the Holy Ghoſt is ever like to do them; the greateſt uſe of it being to make good a Paſs, that nothing follow to diſturb the march of Infallibility and Tradition. But if I may be ſo bold once more to preſume to ask this wonderful Guide; when the diſpute is about the ſenſe of Scripture, why he doth believe ſuch a particular ſenſe which doth not appear clear-

ly to him in Scriptures to be the infallibl
ſenſe of it, or to be divine Revelation? H
anſwer is, *becauſe the Church which is revea
ed in Scriptures to be infallible hath delive
ed this to him as the ſenſe of it.* Very well
this is an Anſwer I underſtand, though I ſe
no reaſon for it. But I proceed, why d
you believe this Infallibility to be the ſen
of thoſe places which ſpeak of the Church
ſince to me they are far from appearing t
be clearly delivered in thoſe Scriptures
Remember you believe this with divi
faith, and this divine faith muſt have d
vine Revelation; the Queſtion then is u
on what divine Revelation do you belie
the Infallibility of the Church to be pr
miſed in Scripture? He Anſwers, *upon Ap
ſtolical Tradition.* Is this Apoſtolical Tr
dition the ſame with the Scriptures or di
ferent from it? If the ſame what greate
clearneſs can there be in this than in th
Scriptures? If different, what divine Rev
lation is your faith of the Infallibility o
that built upon? He ingenuouſly confeſſe
*none at all, for then there muſt be a pr
ceſs* in infinitum *or a circle.* And yet hi
principle is that divine revelation is neceſ
ſary to divine faith; but there can be non
here by his own confeſſion, without
proceſs *in infinitum* or a circle; which i

to acknowledge the abſurdity of his own way as far as a man can deſire. Well, but how comes this Apoſtolical Tradition to be known to him? *By the Church* he ſaith; but may the Church be deceived in delivering Apoſtolical Traditions? *No*, he ſaith, *ſhe is infallible:* but do you believe her infallible with divine faith? *Yes*, he ſaith *that muſt be done:* then at laſt there muſt be a divine Revelation again for this Infallibility, and ſo the circle returns. *No*, he ſaith, *at laſt, he believes the Churches Teſtimony infallible only with a humane and acquiſite faith upon prudential motives; but he believes the Apoſtolical Tradition related by the Church with a divine faith.* Was there ever ſuch a perplexed *Guide in Controverſies?* The Infallibility of the Church is ſometimes to be believed with a *divine faith* and ſometimes not; and yet when it is not to be believed with a divine faith it is the Foundation of the divine faith of Apoſtolical Tradition; for he aſſigns no other ground or reaſon for it beſides the Infallible Teſtimony of the Church. *But this infallibility* he ſaith *may be known two ways by promiſes of Scripture, or prudential motives*; not to diſpute now the poſſibility of proving the Churches Infallibility by prudential motives; (which I ſhall do at large afterwards) the thing I now enquire after is, ſince the

the Apoſtolical Tradition muſt be believed by divine faith, and the belief of it comes by the Churches Infallibility; whether any other Infallibility can ſecure ſuch a faith beſides the Infallibility by Promiſe; for the Infallibility aſſerted being a ſecurity from error by divine Aſſiſtance, and that aſſiſtance only ſuppoſed to be promiſed in Scripture, there can be no other Infallibility here underſtood but that; which Infallibility by his own aſſertion muſt be believed by divine faith, which divine Faith muſt reſt upon divine Revelation; and ſo he believes the ſenſe of Scripture becauſe of the Churches Infallibility, and the Churches Infallibility by Apoſtolical Tradition, and Apoſtolical Tradition by the Churches Infallibility, and the Churches Infallibility by the ſenſe of Scripture. See now what an admirable *Guide in Controverſies* we have met with! and with what skill and dexterity he hath eſcaped the circle. And ſo I take my leave of this GUIDE, finding nothing in him further material about Infallibility, which I have not anſwered in the foregoing Diſcourſe. The Conſiderator urging ſo much the very ſame things, and frequently in the ſame words, that I now think he either was the ſame perſon, or made very bold with him.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

The Principles of E. W. *about the certainty of Divine Faith laid down and considered.*

§. 1. HAving met with ſo little ſatisfaction from the *Guide* in *Controverſies*, I now betake my ſelf to the *Rule*; no *Fancies*, *Toys*, *Trifles*, or *Fallible Gloſſes*, I aſſure you, for thoſe *E. W.* cries out upon almoſt in every page of his worthy work; but *Reaſon and Religion*, or *The Certain Rule of Faith*. What can any man deſire more? unleſs it be to ſee Mr. *Stillingfleet* joyned in the Title-page with *Atheiſts*, *Heathens*, *Jews*, *Turks and all Sectaries*. And that he might own a greater obligation to him, than all that Rabble; he diſpatches them all, after a faſhion, in 30. pages, and ſpends above 600. upon him. O what a peſtilent Heretick is this *Stillingfleet*! that deſerves ſo many laſhes beyond *Atheiſts*, *Heathens*, The Principles of *E. W.* laid down.

them; *Jews* or *Turks!* If he had been any one of thoſe, he might have been gently uſed, for never were they fairlier dealt with by any man that undertook them. But he is not ſo much their Friend to thank him for this kind uſage: and *E. W.* thinks he will have enough to do to defend himſelf. I confeſs I think ſo too, if either of his Books againſt me, were to be thrown at my head; for they are very thick and as heavy as is poſſible. And to my great comfort, I never yet ſaw two ſuch bulky books, whoſe ſubſtance might be brought into a leſs compaſs; for ſetting aſide Tautologies and tedious repetitions, frequent excurſions and impertinent digreſſions the pith and marrow of both his Books lies in this one word Infallibility. But it is time to fall to my buſineſs, for fear of more *Advertiſements*; and Infallibility being the main deſign of his Books, that ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent debate with him. And becauſe this *E. W.* is a great pretender to *Principles*; the method I ſhall proceed in ſhall be firſt to conſider his Principles, and then to defend my own. For which I ſhall chiefly make uſe of his laſt Book, it being in effect but another edition of his former, the other as I ſuppoſe being diſpoſed of to better purpoſes than to be read; for I never heard of one perſon in England that read it over. However, what there is material

material in it, different from the laſt, as to the preſent controverſie, I ſhall upon occaſion take notice of.

The two main Principles he builds upon are theſe.

1. That without an Infallible Church, there can be no certainty of Faith.

2. That the Roman-Catholick Church is this Infallible Church.

If he can prove theſe two, he ſhall not need any more to eſtabliſh their Religion, or to overthrow ours. And I will ſay that for his praiſe that he hath brought the controverſie into a narrow compaſs; for he confeſſes it is endleſs to diſpute out of Scripture and Fathers, ſince witty men by their *falſible Gloſſes* can turn and winde them which way they pleaſe, but there is nothing ſo ſtiff and inflexible as a ſtanding infallible Oracle in the Church, which being once believed all Controverſie is at an end. But we may as ſoon hope to ſee all other controverſies ended by dry blows, as this *Principle* proved to the ſatisfaction of any reaſonable man.

The main proofs for the neceſſity of the Churches Infallibility, which he inſiſts upon are theſe. 1. *That there can be no Divine Faith without it.* 2. *There can be no certainty as to the Canon, or edition, or ſenſe of Scripture.* 3. *There can be as little certainty*

tainty as to the ſenſe of the Fathers or the Primitive Church.

1. *That there can be no divine Faith without it.* This he frequently inſiſts upon in both his Books; and with ſo much vehemency, as *to make the deniers of Infallibility to overthrow all Faith and Religion.* Which being a charge of the higheſt nature, ought to be made good by the cleareſt evidence. Whether that which *E. W.* produces, be ſo I ſhall leave any one to judge, when I have given an Account of his Principles as to this matter. In his firſt Book called *Proteſtancy without Principles*, he begins with this ſubject; and lays down theſe aſſertions, upon which all his Diſcourſe is built.

1. *That Gods infallible Revelation requires an infallible Aſſent of Faith; or an infallible verity revealed to us forcibly requires an anſwerable and correſpondent infallible aſſent of Faith in us: the contrary* he calls *wild Doctrine; this ſubjective infallibility*, as he calls it, *he offers very wiſely to prove from thoſe places of Scripture, which ſpeak of the aſſurance which Chriſtians had of the truth of their Religion.*

2. *This infallible aſſent of Faith doth require infallible Teachers; for infallible believers and infallible Teachers are correlatives.* And in the ſecond Chapter, he goes about

about to prove it, *because, if Christs infallible Doctrine be only fallibly taught, no man hath certainty what it is; and seeing what is fallible may be false, Christs Doctrine may not be taught at all; which is infallible and cannot be false; and he that should abjure this fallible Doctrine, doth not deny therein Christs Doctrine, and cannot be upon that account an Heretick.* But to make Faith Infallible, he asserts, *That every Preacher sent by the infallible Church, as a member conjoyned with it, is infallible in his Teaching: and on the contrary, whosoever renounces an Infallible society cannot teach with certainty Christs infallible Doctrine. From whence* he saith, *follows an utter ruine of Christian Religion.* In his third Chapter he further proves, *That if the Church were fallible in her Teaching, God would oblige us to believe a falsity; because God commands men to hear the Church, and if the Church may erre, then men are obliged to believe a false Doctrine taught by her. And all other means short of this Infallibility would be insufficient for preserving Christian Religion in the world.* In the fourth Chapter he comes to *a particular consideration of divine Faith, and from thence proves the necessity of infallibility. Faith,* saith he, *requires two things essentially, an object* Disc. 1. c. 2. p. 24, 27.

which

which is Gods Revelation, and a Propoſiti-on of this object; by Vertue of which th elicit act of Faith follows in a believer, an intellectually lays as it were hold, both o Gods Revelation and the thing revealed. Now to prove the neceſſity of ſuch an infalli-ble Propoſition in order to divine Faith, h lays down ſome abſtruſe Propoſitions.

1. *That Gods infallible Revelation avail nothing in order to Faith, unleſs Chriſtian by their Faith lay hold on the certainty thereof, or owne it as infallible and the a-ſured ground of their Aſſent.*

2. *That the meaſure and degrees of certi-tude in the aſſent are according to thoſ which the Proponent gives to the Revelation. If he teaches doubtfully, the aſſent is doubt-ful, if probably, the aſſent is probable, i infallibly, the aſſent is infallible:* the reaſon which he gives of this, is, *becauſe an obje revealed receives its light from the propo-ſal, as an object of ſight doth from the ligh of the air. As long therefore,* ſaith he, *a the infallibility of a Revelation ſtands re-mote from me, for want of an undoubted ap-plication made by an infallible proponent, it can no more transfuſe certainty into Faith, than Fire at a great diſtance warm; that is, no more than if it were not certain in it ſelf, or not at all in Being.*

3. *From*

3. *From hence* he ſaith, *it follows that Proteſtants can only doubtfully gueſs at what they are to believe, and conſequently never yet had nor can have Divine, certain and infallible Faith. Becauſe they cannot propoſe Faith infallibly.* Hence he proceeds Chapter fifth and ſixth, *to diſprove Moral Certainty, as inſufficient in order to Faith; and deſtroying*, as he ſaith, *The very being and eſſence of Divine and ſupernatural Faith; becauſe the ſole and adequate object of divine and ſupernatural Faith is Gods infinite veracity actually ſpeaking to us; but this infinite veracity, (when it is duly propoſed), tranſfuſeth more certainty into the elicit act of Faith, than any Moral Certainty derived from inferiour motives can have. For all Moral Certainty is at leaſt capable of falſity and may deceive us: Gods infallible veracity cannot be falſe nor deceive if Faith reſt upon that Motive, and if it reſt not there, it is no Faith at all. Nay he aſſerts, that ſupernatural Faith is more certain and infallible, than all the Metaphyſical Sciences which nature can give us;* For which he gives this plain reaſon, *Becauſe the infinite veracity of God which only ſupporteth Faith with greater force, energy, and neceſſity tranſfuſeth into it, a ſupereminent infallibility, ſupereminent*, he ſaith, *and above all*

the Certainty, which the principles of natur
can afford. This is the ſubſtance of *E. W.*
principles of Faith in his firſt Book: which
is ſomewhat more enlarged in the ſecond.
Diſc. 2. c. 5. In one Chapter he deſigns to prove *if the Ro-*
man Church be not infallible, there is no tru
Faith in the world, the reaſon of which i
Diſc. 2. c. 14. his own eaſie terms is this, *For the meer poſ-*
ſibility of deceiving Chriſtians in one Article
impoſſibilitates the Belief of all ſhe propoſeth.
c. 15. In another Chapter, *That ſhe is not only in-*
fallible, but that the Adverſaries of her in-
fallibility deſtroy the very eſſence of Chriſti-
an Religion. And in the next, *That divine*
Faith in this preſent ſtate of things neceſ-
ſarily requires a Church infallible, becauſe
the infallibility of faith neceſſarily requires
not only an Infallible Revelation, but an
infallible Proponent. Ruine one or the other
Infallibility, faith can be no more but an
uncertain Aſſent and conſequently can be
no faith at all; This reaſon he diverſifies
into many ſhapes, and repreſents it in diffe-
rent words, but it comes in at every turn. So
c. 16. in the next Chapter he proves *the Catholick*
Church Gods infallible Oracle, becauſe in-
fallibility once taken away, no man can have
aſſurance ſo much as of one Chriſtian ve-
rity; *the reaſon is, no man can be aſſured of*
what is fallibly taught: becauſe what is ſo
taught,

taught, may by vertue of the Propoſition be falſe, but a doctrine ſo far removed from infallible certainty. for want of a due application of its infallibility, comes not near to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, which was applied, taught and propoſed infallibly: And in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, *It is utterly impoſſible, that an infallible verity as revealed, though fallibly propoſed ſhould have influence upon faith, or work in believers a moſt firm aſſent.* Not long after, he aſſerts, *That infallibility being taken away, no man can tell, but that Chriſtian Religion is a fiction*; for theſe are his words. *A feigned and fallible Religion are near Couſin Germans. The one is a Fiction, the other at leaſt may be ſo, and for ought any man can know is no better:* And in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, *That without infallibility Religion is meer Scepticiſm: becauſe all other means, infallibility being ſet aſide, may be equally pleaded by Hereticks,* (*as* Arians *and ſuch like,*) *as by any other.* To the ſame purpoſe in the following Chapter, where he propoſes that which he calls *the laſt proof of the Churches Infallibility*, which is ſtill the very ſame over and over; (for he out-does the *Cook* of *Brunduſium* in ſerving up the the ſame meat in ſeveral dreſſes) viz. *That the denyal of it overthrows Chriſtian Religi-*

c. 16 n. 14.

c. 18 n. 4.

N. 12.

c. 19. n. 3.

on; be pleaſed to obſerve his conciſe way o reaſoning. *If the infallibility of revealed doctrine be loſt as it were in the way between God and us, If the Revelation appear not as it is in it ſelf infallible, when we aſſent to it by faith, that is, if it be not infallibly conveyed and applied to all by an unerring proponent, as it ſubſiſts in its firſt cauſe, infinitely infallible, faith periſhes, we are caſt upon pure uncertainties, and may juſtly doubt whether ſuch a doctrine, ſeparated from that other Perfection of Infallibility be really true or no?* In his third Diſcourſe we meet with *a convincing Argument*, as he calls it, *for Infallibility. If all Authority imaginable, whereupon faith can depend, conveyed or delivered theſe verities both as infallible Truths and infallibly, and I aſſent to the doctrine with a belief not infallible, but only morally certain, I leave by my fallible moral aſſent the true infallible teaching and conveying Oracles of Chriſtian doctrine, and believe upon a meer phanſied Authority, which was never impowered to convey Gods verities to any.* Before I come to examine theſe things it will be neceſſary to lay down his notion of *faith* in his own terms, *viz. That it eſſentially tends obſcurely to its own object*; (no matter for underſtanding it, but the words ſound well

Diſ. 3. c. 4. N. 2.

c. 8. p. 16.

well together) *and by this faith we lay hold upon the moſt ſupream and all comprehending infallibility proper to God alone.* But withal we are to take notice of a twofold certitude in faith; *the one a certitude of Infallibility ariſing from the ſupernatural principles which concur to the very act of belief, and theſe being not liable to error can never operate, but when the divine Revelation really is, and implies not only the meer truth of the act, but moreover an infallible determination to Truth: the other a certitude of adheſion not grounded on evidence, but upon moſt prudent motives propoſed to Reaſon, (which clearly diſcover'd) the Will by her pious affection commands and determines the intellectual faculties to aſſent indubitably.* After all which he concludes, that the plain and eaſie Reſolution of Faith, *is into Gods veracity as ſpeaking to men by an infallible Church.* Thus I have laid together ſo many parcels of *E. W*'s. rambling diſcourſe, as were neceſſary in order to the examination of it. And indeed I cannot compare his reaſoning to any thing better than his own pretty notion of faith, for juſt as he ſaith, Faith *eſſentially tends obſcurely to its object*, ſo his principles do to his concluſion.

N. 14.

C. 10, 11.

But that I may proceed with the greater clearneſs, I muſt premiſe theſe two things,

Some things premised to the State of the Question.

1. §. 2. That the Question is not concerning the necessity of any *internal Assistance of divine Grace*, but of an *external infallible Proponent* in order to divine Faith. So that whatever certainty of faith is derived from the Spirit of God, is no ways pertinent to our present debate. I do not deny that a true divine faith, doth suppose a divine and supernatural assistance; I do not deny, that the Holy Ghost may confirm mens minds to such a degree of certainty, which may exceed the rational grounds they are able to give to others of their faith. But I say all this is very far from the purpose. For I had expressly laid down this caution before, that our Question in the Resolution of Faith, did not relate to the workings of the divine Spirit on our minds of which no satisfactory account can be given to others; but to the external motives and grounds of faith, whether they must be infallible or not? To what purpose is it then, for *E. W.* to talk *of a certitude of Infallibility*, as he calls it, *arising from the supernatural principles which concur to the very act of belief, and these not liable to error, can never operate, but when the divine Revelation really is?* Granting all this to be true; yet what doth this prove, concerning the necessity of an *external infallible Proponent* such as the *Church* is? All that can hence

Rational Account, *part* 1. *c.* 7. *Sect.* 1.

hence follow is that those whom the Spirit of God enables to believe, cannot believe a falshood; but what then? Hath he proved that the supernatural principles of faith do never operate, but where the Church first infallibly proposes? No, this he never attempts, either not understanding what was fit to be proved, or knowing it impossible to be done. But if the infallible certainty of Faith doth depend upon inward illumination and divine concurrence; the Infallibility of Faith may be had without an external Infallible Proponent. And so all his first principles signify nothing to his purpose, for supposing an Infallible assent of Faith necessary to an Infallible Revelation; yet that doth not prove the necessity of Infallible teachers, unless it can be had no other way. But here he tells us, *That Infallible certainty is derived from supernatural principles concurring to the act of Faith*; which he elsewhere calls, *The interior illustration of Grace imparted to a Soul*, which he saith, *is wholly necessary to make faith certain*; and after saith, *we come to an absolute certainty of Faith, upon this interiour sacred Language of God, or his internal illumination*; *the necessity of which* he proves *from Scripture and Fathers*. But when he hath done all, he hath most effectually confuted himself; For *if*

Reason and Religion, Disc. 3 c 9. N. 4. p. 562.

N. 6, 7.

N. 9. *this inward illumination, can*, as he ſaith, *ſupply the inefficacy of external motives*; How comes the Infallibility of an external proponent to be neceſſary in order to that certainty of Faith which may be obtained, by divine Grace making up what is wanting in the outward motives? Did ever any man ſhew more kindneſs to his Adverſary in helping him with weapons to deſtroy himſelf than this *E. W.* doth? When after a moſt tedious endeavour to prove the neceſſity of an external Infallible Proponent in order to the certainty of Faith; he ſets down theſe words, *Now*

N. 11. *what we aſſert in this particular, is, that the Infallible certainty of faith comes from this interior illumination, as it more lively ſets forth the formal object aſſented to, or helps to a clearer propoſal of the divine myſteries.* Doth the Infallible certainty of Faith indeed come from *this interior illumination*? What then becomes of the neceſſity of an Infallible Church? We often hear of the great Aſſiſtance the *Jeſuits* have in writing their Books; I ſhould rather have thought ſome enemy of *E. W*'s. had put in theſe things to overthrow all he had ſpent ſo many impertinent words about before. But leſt ſuch expreſſions ſhould be thought to have dropt from him unawares, obſerve with what care he ſums up the whole progreſs of Faith in this State.

Firſt,

First, *A natural Propoſition of the myſte-* N. 12.
ries precedes; this begets a natural apprehen-ſion of their credibility; after ſome conſidera-tion there may ariſe an imperfect judgement of credibility: but ſhould the will offer as yet to incline the mind to aſſent only upon what appears hitherto, it could not move to a Faith which is an aſſent ſuper omnia *or moſt cer-tain. Therefore the illuſtration, or powerful invitation of Grace (by which as I ſaid the object appears another way and more clearly) is infuſed, whereof the ſoul is recipient. The Will now after other Preparatives thus ſtrengthned a new commands boldly the under-ſtanding to Aſſert upon the ſafeſt Principles imaginable*, viz. *upon Gods infallible Reve-lation accompanied with his own Divine Light, which makes faith to grow higher in certainty, than all the reaſon or knowledge in this life can ariſe to. For as* S. Thomas *obſerves, humane knowledge derives its certi-tude from mans natural Reaſon which may err, but faith hath its infallibility*, ex lu-mine divinæ ſcientiæ, *from the light of di-vine wiſdom which cannot deceive, and there-fore is moſt certain.*

Who, upon reading theſe words, would not have thought this *E. W.* more converſant in *Calvins Inſtitutions*, than *Aquinas* his *Sums?* For in all this Reſolution of Faith, how

how can a man edge in the neceſſity of an infallible Church in order to the certainty of Faith? I will not ſay *E.W.* was wholly inapprehenſive of this ſnare he had brought himſelf into, but he takes the worſt way imaginable to get out of it. For to ſhew the difference between this way and that of *Hereticks*, he makes *the exterior humane propoſition of Divine Revelation neceſſarily preceding the true light of Faith; which cannot be made but by one that makes the Propoſition good by a Miracle, or ſome ſupernatural wonder; but no Proteſtant is able to do this much.* And is any *Papiſt* think we? I would withal my heart ſee ſome of the miracles wrought by their Preachers to convince me; I profeſs the greateſt readineſs of mind to be perſwaded by them, in caſe they do but work ſuch miracles as Chriſt and his Apoſtles did. But of this ſubject at large afterwards. At preſent it may ſuffice to take notice. 1. That no propoſition of Faith is ſuppoſed ſufficient by *E.W. but where the Proponent doth work Miracles:* and therefore we may ſafely queſtion the Churches Propoſition till we ſee ſuch Miracles wrought by her, as were by Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

N. 13, 14, 15.

N. 15. *For thus*, ſaith he, *Chriſt our Lord ſent by his Eternal Father, thus the Apoſtles ſent by Chriſt and the Church ever ſince (all ſhewing*

ing wonders above the force of Nature) *proved their miſſion*; *and withal evinced that God only impowred them to teach as they did.* And becauſe the poor Proteſtant doth not pretend to miracles, therefore *the light he pretends to is a meer* ignis fatuus *vain and void of all reality.* I muſt ſay that of my Adverſary, that he puts the controverſie upon the faireſt iſſue that can be deſired. For if their Church work ſuch miracles as Chriſt and his Apoſtles did to atteſt their divine commiſſion, the evidence from thence to believe her infallibility ought to over rule the opinions of ſuch who ſay ſhe hath erred; in caſe the doctrine atteſted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles and that of the Roman Church do not directly contradict each other. 2. Although this exterior Proponent prove himſelf ſo commiſſioned yet by the Progreſs of Faith laid down by *E. W.* this is not enough to beget an infallible certainty of Faith. *For*, he ſaith, *after the exteriour propoſition only a natural apprehenſion of their credibility ſucceeds*; *then a judgement of credibility*, *then the inclination of the Will*; *but yet no infallible certainty till the illuſtration of Divine Grace comes.* So that it evidently follows according to *E. W.* that an infallible Proponent cannot beget an infallible Aſſent of Faith; but that doth ariſe from the inward illumination of the mind by

the

the Holy Ghoſt. Which I have already ſhewed doth lay men open to all the abſurdities the higheſt *Calviniſts* were charged with in resolving Faith; and is withal impertinent to our diſpute; which relates to the neceſſity of an external infallible Proponent in order to the Certainty of Faith. But ſurely the *Jeſuits* are not ſo bereſt of all their ſubtilty to comply with their greateſt Adverſaries without ſome advantage to be gained by it. Yes, *E. W.* will ſhake hands with ſome old enemies, the better to aſſault ſome later Proteſtants, *who ſeem to attribute*, he ſaith, *no other certainty to the very act of Faith, than what is Moral*; *which doctrine*, he ſaith, *if it be defenſible it's impoſſible to declare, how Faith it ſelf or the illuſtration previous, can proceed from the Holy Ghoſt. For did the Spirit of God work with a ſoul, when it believes, the certainty of Faith, would without all doubt, go beyond that aſſurance, which is only humane, moral and fallible.* I think that I eſcape well, that *E. W.* hath not tranſcribed a great part of *Bradwardin de Cauſâ Dei* againſt me; for I plainly ſee, he takes me for an Abſolute Free Willer, and a denier of the Grace of God. It is true indeed, I ſet aſide the conſideration of Divine Grace in this matter, but I aſſure him, not that I queſtioned the Truth or neceſſity

N. 16.

of

of it; but because it was not pertinent to his business. For to what purpose should we argue about that, which can only serve for the satisfaction of those which have it? and leaves men entangled in the same difficulties they object to others? But the Question was plainly put by me concerning the *outward inducements* to faith; *viz.* whether an infallible Testimony of the Church were necessary in order to it? or whether a certainty short of that, which I called Moral, were sufficient for Divine Faith? Not opposing this *Moral Certainty* to the *concurrence of Divine Grace*, but to an *external infallible Proponent*. I took it then for granted on both sides, that the Grace of Faith doth not come meerly from *our selves*, but that *it is the Gift of God*, that whereever God doth immediately concur he doth direct the mind to the belief of what is certainly True, that there might be unaccountable ways, whereby an inward certainty might be produced, and so firm an adherence to the Truth believed, which all the arguments and torments in the world could never shake, of which the Primitive Martyrs were undeniable Instances; But this internal perswasion could be made no matter of debate, nor any argument to convince another, any further than the effects of it did manifest that it came from God: yet

yet withal I did not Question, but faith be
ing an act of the mind of man which is rati
onal and discursive, had sufficient grounds t
proceed upon', and such which without an
absurdity might justifie mens belief to an
prudent or considerative men, and to the se
vereſt enquiries of a mans own mind. Now
concerning theſe Grounds the Queſtion wa
put by me; taking in then the efficiency o
Divine Grace, this is the true ſtate of th
Controverſie, whether the ſpirit of God ma
not by moral arguments work in mens mind
ſuch a certain aſſent of Faith, as the Scriptur
requires for Salvation? or whether in orde
thereto, an Infallible Teſtimony of th
Church be neceſſary? But becauſe the in-
ſerting the operation of the Holy Ghoſt doth
rather perplex the controverſie, than explain
it; ſince this was granted on both ſides, I
thought it better to leave it out and to ma-
nage the diſpute as it ought to be only con-
cerning the neceſſity of an infallible Teſti-
mony of the Church, which is aſſerted by
my Adverſaries, and denied by me.

2. The Queſtion is not, concerning that
Foundation of *Faith* whereby *we believe what
God ſaith to be true*: but that, *whereby we
believe this to be revealed by God.* For thoſe
two Propoſitions muſt be ſuppoſed to any par-
ticular act of Faith, viz. *that whatever God
ſaith*

faith is true: and that God hath ſaid this particular thing which I am bound to believe. Concerning the firſt of theſe there is no diſpute between us, for Gods veracity founded upon his Infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs is agreed to be the ultimate reaſon of our aſſent to whatſoever God reveals. Only *E. W.* to uphold the *ſupernatural certainty of Faith will not have the veracity of God to be the Foundation of Faith, as it is known by natural Reaſon*; *for if it were*, ſaith he, *Faith would at laſt be reſolved into one natural principle, thus, I believe God to be the higheſt verity imaginable, not becauſe he ſaith ſo, but becauſe I know this great Truth ſcientifically. Now*, ſaith he, *no ſcience gives the leaſt or leaſt degree of intrinſick certitude to Faith.* This is profound reaſoning: but which I dare ſay, no faith can be built upon. For either I muſt be convinced of Gods veracity by natural reaſon, from the conſideration of the divine nature and attributes, or by Revelation from God; but if by Gods revelation, then ſee what an excellent way this *Scholaſtick Divine* hath found for reſolving faith as to this Principle (for as it is a matter revealed it is an immediate object of faith) If you then ask him why he believes any thing to be true which is revealed by God, his anſwer is, *becauſe he believes Gods ſupream*

Proteſt. without Principles, *Diſc.* 1. *C.* 5. *n.* 10.

pream verity, or that he neither can nor w deceive: but if you ask him again why b believes this veracity of God, he anſwer *becauſe God hath revealed it.* And is n this a likely man to eſcape circles, th makes them where any common underſtan ing would avoid them? But beſides, ſuppo ſing God had never diſcovered his own ver city in Scripture, I would fain know of *E. W* whether there could have been any ſuc thing as Divine Faith or no? if there coul then this principle of Gods veracity mu have been the Foundation of divine faith known by natural Reaſon. And ſuppoſin Gods veracity not to be embraced antec dently to a divine Revelation, it is impoſſi ble to ſuppoſe there ſhould be any argumen ſufficient to perſwade me to believe any Di vine Revelation. For the greateſt Miracle cannot convince me of Gods Truth though they may of his Power; and the may perſwade me to believe that God ſen ſuch men who work Miracles, but they cannot perſwade me to believe that all they ſay i true. For if God can deceive men, he ma imploy men as his meſſengers and deceive th world by them: and if this opinion be root ed in a mans mind it is impoſſible he ſhould yield a firm aſſent to any thing becauſe it i revealed by God. But *E. W.* ſaith *Divine*

ſa

ſay ſo as he doth. I ſuppoſe he means *School Divines* and then I grant they do and a great many ſilly things beſides, wrapt up under the name of ſubtilties. If any one hath a mind to try the truth of what I ſay, he need do no more than read their unintelligible ſubtilties about the nature and reſolution of Faith: Which *Cardinal Lugo* himſelf complains of; and ſaith *they make the doctrine of the Schools hard and unintelligible*; and in this particular of believing Gods veracity on the account of Divine Revelation, he ſaith, *it carries men into an inexplicable circle. Suarez* finding no better way to clear this difficulty runs to a *myſtery* in it; and *makes it a great part of the myſteriouſneſs of faith, that although it doth not clearly ſee its object nor the things revealed, yet it receives it by its own light; and this act of faith*, he ſaith *is wholly ſupernatural*, he might have ſaid, unintelligible. But he gives an admirable reaſon for it, which is; *that this intrinſecally follows from the nature of a divine teſtimony, as it is altogether infallible, and can oblige to believe thoſe things which God ſpeaks, as infallible, for in ſpeaking any thing he thereby declares his own veracity in what he affirms; for by this means he induces men to believe the truth of what he ſaith and conſequently his own veracity; a man being obliged to be-*

Lugo *de virtute Fidei Divinæ Diſp.* 1. *Sect.* 7. *n.* 114.

Suarez *de Fide Diſp.* 3. *Sect.* 6. *n.* 82.

Suarez *de Fide Diſp.* 3. *Sect.* 6. *n.* 8.

lieve the teſtimony infallible, and therefo
from the intrinſecal nature of ſuch an act
faith and ſuch an object, it follows that th
ſame teſtimony which ſuffices for the belief
of the thing revealed, will likewiſe ſuffice
believe Gods infallible veracity in revealing
This reaſon I grant is very well accommo-
dated to *the myſteriouſneſs of Faith*; but I
do not know how it would ſatisfie any man
that ſhould doubt of Gods veracity in all his
Revelations: which ought to be the more
conſidered ſince in the foregoing ſection, he
names ſome of their own Writers, who aſ-
ſert *that there is no intrinſecal evil in a falſity, and therefore God may if he pleaſes, reveal one ſo as to oblige mankind to believe it.* I
would willingly know then how the obliga-
tion on our parts to believe what God ſaith,
can ſatisfie any man of the infallible veraci-
ty of the revealer? For all that there is in
this reaſon, is, that God cannot oblige men
to believe a falſity, which it ſeems, ſome of
their own *Schoolmen* would not yield to.
But it is not enough, that God hath declared
Sect. 5 n. 9. *he never will do it?* no: *Suarez* himſelf
plainly refutes that by ſaying, *that no man can be certain that God doth not make uſe of his abſolute power in thoſe declarations:*
and if he can tell a lie, he may not perform
his own promiſe, and therefore Gods ordina-
ry

ry power cannot ſerve the turn, ſince by his abſolute power he can act againſt it. *Cardinal Lugo*, although he ſaw all the reaſon in the world to reject the former opinion of *Suarez*, yet he aſſerts, *That the aſſent to Gods veracity muſt be ſupernatural and elicited from the habit of infuſed faith:* which is not eaſie to underſtand, ſince they all make this ſupernatural infuſed Faith, to be an obſcure inevident aſſent, and himſelf grants this to be an evident aſſent from natural reaſon: but how the ſame aſſent ſhould be evident and inevident, is a Queſtion fit to be debated among the Schoolmen. Lugo, ib.

§. 3. But all this perplexity and confuſion among men of wit and ſubtilty ariſes from their falſe notion of *divine and ſupernatural faith*, which as *E. W.* moſt Scholaſtically ſpeaks, *eſſentially tending obſcurely to its object*, (like a blind man running at Tilt) it makes them ſo much afraid of the leaſt creviſe of light or evidence, leſt the *meritoriouſneſs* of it be utterly deſtroyed. For it infinitely obliges God in their opinion to believe without evidence. Therefore though a *humane and acquiſite faith*, ſuch as Hereticks may have, may be grounded on ſubſtantial reaſon; yet this *ſupernatural and meritorious faith*, much like a Mole, works with- Of the notion of Divine Faith.

out light, and expects the more wages fo
working in the dark. I confess this *essenti*
obscurity of faith suits very well with the
Discourses about it; which as *E. W.* speak
seems to have *transfused* its obscurity int
their writings concerning it. But for us, t
whom they will only allow *a humane faith*
I wish they would afford a little more *evi*
dence for what they say; and not overthro
the fundamental ground of all certainty o
Faith, by deriving the perswasion of it fro
divine Revelation, and not from the natura
conceptions we have of God. But I cann
but commend the Ingenuity of one of the
late School-men, who yields *That the ver*
city of God as it is the foundation of faith
must be known by natural light; and to th
objection, that divine Faith must then be r
solved into a natural assent; he answer
1. *That natural notices may be an inade*
quate formal object of faith. 2. *That faith*
properly goes not beyond a Testimony; th
other being rather an act of knowledge tha
faith. It is all one to me, so the thing be
granted, by what name men call it; Tha
which I aim at is, that the veracity of God
which is the foundation of our assent to wha
God reveals, must be received antecedently
to divine Revelation. And so the principles
of natural Religion must be supposed true,
before

Francisc. boræ Spei To. 3 Tr. 1. de fide. disp. 1. dub. 2.

before it is possible for us to judge of revealed Religion; and among those principles we must allow of the veracity of God, without which we cannot imagine any *firm assent* to be given *to divine Revelation*: which is that I understand by the name of *Faith*. Wherein a divine Testimony being implyed, that assent which I give to any thing as true upon the account thereof may be called *Divine Faith*; as that which I give to the Truth of a thing not upon knowledge, or experience, but the credit of another Person, is justly called humane faith, *i.e.* when it goes no farther than meer humane Testimony, but if that humane Testimony at last leads me to that which is divine, then the Faith must receive its denomination from that which it rests upon. As suppose some persons in *Persia* at the time of our Saviours being in *Judæa*, had been made acquainted with the Doctrine which he Preached and the holiness of his Life, while these persons received all only upon the credit of their Friends, we may call this a *humane faith*; but if they were fully satisfied afterwards of the mighty works which were done by him to attest his divine Commission on which account they believe him to be the true Messias, their faith might now more properly be called a *divine faith*, because it fixeth it self upon an immediate

Testimony of God. But then we are to consider,

1. That there is no fixed and determinate sense of a *divine faith*; it being no term used in Scripture, but taken up by men to express thereby the difference between the assent we give to the Word of God, and to the Testimony of men. But then this Faith may be called *divine* either as it relates to the *material object*, or the *formal object*, or the *divine effects* of Faith; that Faith may be said to be divine in one sense, which may not be in another. For a man may believe that which God reveals and upon the account of his Testimony, and yet that Faith may never operate effectually; and so be no effect of divine Grace upon the mind of man. Therefore one of the great mistakes of the Schoolmen in this matter, hath been the making the belief upon a divine Testimony, to be the act of divine and supernatural Faith, which the Devils and *Judas* might have; and excluding Faith built upon fallible grounds from being divine, which yet might effectually lead men to the obedience of Faith, and consequently was truly more divine than the other.

2. The same Faith in several respects may be called both *humane* and *divine*. *Humane* as it is first grounded upon the *Testimony* of men,

men, and *Divine*, as it finally reſts upon the *Teſtimony* of *God*. And in the preſent condition of mankind, it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that any Faith ſhould now immediately reſt upon the Divine Revelation, without ſome rational evidence antecedent to it. For the thing to be believed being the Teſtimony which God gave at the diſtance of above one thouſand ſix hundred years, we muſt either ſuppoſe an immediate Revelation of it, or it muſt be conveyed to them by the credit of others. Which according to this notion can beget only a *humane faith*, for to reſolve the belief of one Divine Teſtimony into another is to proceed without end; but this humane faith, if it be ſo called, ſatisfying a mans mind, concerning the Teſtimony which God gave, and thereupon aſſenting to what was delivered upon that Teſtimony, this Faith proceeding in the ſame way of rational evidence, becomes a divine Faith by reſting upon the Teſtimony which God gave to thoſe who declared his Will.

3. The Faith whereby we muſt firſt embrace a Divine Revelation cannot in this ſenſe be called a Divine Faith, *i.e.* as divine Faith doth rely upon a *divine Teſtimony*. For that Faith is built upon thoſe two Foundations, *viz. That whatever God ſaith is true, and that this is his Revelation*: Now neither

of these two can be entertained at first o
the account of a Divine Testimony, th
first I have shewed already cannot be witho
a circle, neithe: can the second, for still th
Question will return on what account you be
lieve that Testimony. So that although thi
be commonly called an act of divine Faith
yet if Faith be taken in this strict sense fo
believing upon a divine Testimony, we mu
find out some other name for this Assent; no
thereby to take off from the certainty or ex
cellency of it; but to prevent that confusion
which the not observing these things ha
caused in these Controversies. And if th
Terms of *Divine*, *Supernatural*, *Infallible*
Obscure, and *Inevident* were banished th
Schools, the School-men themselves woul
be forced to speak sense in these matters
And it would be a pleasant sight to see ho
pitifully *E. W*'s. Discourses would look with
out them. For the main force of all he saith
lies in the misapplying those terms, and the
rattling noise they make, is apt to keep i
awe a vulgar understanding, especially tha
hath been bred up with some more than ordi
nary Reverence to these astonishing terms.

The true State of the Question.

§. 4. These things were necessary to be premised before we could come to the true State of the Question; which we now plain-

ly

ly ſee doth not relate to that Aſſent whereby we believe whatever God ſaith to be true; but to that, whereby we believe this particular Revelation contained in the Scriptures to be from God? And ſo the Controverſie is brought to this iſſue, *Whether in order to the certainty of our faith concerning Gods Revelation an Infallible Teſtimony of the Church be neceſſary?* which he affirms, and I deny. For in order to the certainty of Faith, we have already ſeen, he frequently aſſerts *the neceſſity of an Infallible Oracle*; and makes all degrees of certainty ſhort of *Infallibility* inſufficient for Divine Faith.

But that we may the better underſtand his opinion, we muſt take notice of his own explications of it, and the diſtinctions he thinks neceſſary for that end.

1. *He diſtinguiſheth between the judgement of credibility neceſſary to faith, and the act of faith it ſelf; and the Reſolution of theſe two though they have a due ſubordination to each other, yet depend upon quite different principles: the judgement of credibility, whereby the Will moves and commands the intellectual faculty to elicit faith, relies not upon that object which finally terminates faith it ſelf, but upon extrinſecal motives which perſwade and powerfully induce to believe* ſuper omnia. Reaſon and Religion. *Diſcourſ.* 3. c. 1. n. 8.

2. *He*

2. *He distinguisheth between the nature* [illegible] *Science and faith; Science is worth* [illegible] *thing unless it prove, and faith purely con*[illegible] *sidered as faith,* (these words he desires *may be well marked*) *is worthless if it prove*[illegible] *For faith reasons not, nor asks how these mysteries can be, but simply believes:* O[illegible] as he expresseth it in his former Book; *Faith solely relies on Gods revealed Testimony without the mixture of reason for its mo*[illegible] *tive.* And here he asserts, *That there is a more firm adhesion to the infallibility of that Divine Testimony for which we believe, than the extrinsecal motives inducing to believe either do or can draw from us.*

Protest. without Principles *Disc.* 1. c. 11. n. 2.

3. *He distinguisheth between the Humane and Divine Authority of the Church; the Humane Authority, being as such fallible is not sufficient to ground divine faith. But the first act of faith whereby every one believes the Church to be Gods Oracle, is built upon her infallible divine Authority manifested by miracles and other signal marks of Truth.* By the help of these distinctions we may better understand his Resolution of Faith, which he delivers in this manner. *Demanded why we believe the mystery of the Incarnation, it is answered, Scripture asserts it. Ask again why we believe the Divinity of that Book called Scripture? It is answered,*

d, the Church aſcertains us of that. But how do we know that the Church herein delivers truth? It is anſwered if we ſpeak of knowledge previous to faith: then he brings the motives of credibility, which make the Churches Infallibility ſo evidently credible, that we cannot if prudent and manifeſt reaſon guide us, but as firmly believe whatever this Oracle teaches, as the Iſraelites *believed* Moſes *and the Prophets.* This one would think were enough of all conſcience; but he thinks otherwiſe, *for there is* ſaith he, *but one only difference and that advantageous to them, that in lieu of* Moſes *they have an ample Church; innumerable multitudes in place of one ſervant of God, the incomparable greater Light, the pillar and Ground of Truth, the Catholick Church diffuſed the whole world over:* and a little after aſſerts, *That they have the very ſame way of Reſolving faith which the Primitive Chriſtians had in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.* Here is enough aſſerted, if it could be proved. N. 6, 7.

§. 5. Againſt this way, laid down by my firſt Adverſary *T. C.* I objected theſe three things, 1. That it was unreaſonable. 2. That it did not avoid the main difficulties. 3. That it was notoriouſly falſe; theſe three waies of

My firſt Argument laid down and defended.

of attacking it, (of which a ſhort account is given in the entrance of this Diſcourſe,) I muſt now more largely defend.

I ſhewed this way to be unreaſonable: and that upon theſe grounds,

1. Becauſe an aſſent is hereby required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence; for the act of Faith being according to *E. W.* *an infallible aſſent*; and no other grounds aſſigned for it beſides the motives of credibility; he muſt make an Infallible aſſent only upon fallible grounds. And it is not ſufficient to ſay, that the Infallibility of the Churches Teſtimony makes the Aſſent Infallible; for Aſſent is not according to the objective certitude of things, but the evidence of them to our underſtanding. For is it poſſible to aſſent to the truth of a Demonſtration in a demonſtrative manner, becauſe any Mathematician tells one the thing is demonſtrable? For in that caſe the aſſent is not according to the evidence of the thing, but according to the opinion ſuch a perſon hath of him, who tells him it is demonſtrable. Nay ſuppoſing that Perſon Infallible in ſaying ſo, yet if the other hath no means to be Infallibly aſſured that he is ſo, his Aſſent is as doubtful as if he were not Infallible: Therefore ſuppoſing the Teſtimony of the Roman Church to be really Infallible, yet ſince the means of believing

believing it are but probable and prudential, the Aſſent cannot be according to the nature of the Teſtimony conſidered in it ſelf, but according to the reaſons which induce me to believe ſuch a Teſtimony Infallible. And in all ſuch caſes, where I believe one thing for the ſake of another, my Aſſent to the object believed is according to my Aſſent to the Medium on which I believe it. As our light is not according to the light in the body of the Sun, but that which preſſeth on our Organs of Senſe. So that ſuppoſing their Churches Teſtimony to be Infallible in it ſelf, if one may be deceived in judging whether it be Infallible or no, one may be deceived in ſuch things which he believes on that ſuppoſed Infallibility. It being impoſſible, that the aſſent to the matters of faith, ſhould riſe higher, or ſtand firmer than the aſſent to the Teſtimony upon which thoſe things are believed. But now to prove the Churches infallibility, they make uſe only of the motives of credibility, which themſelves grant can be the foundation only of a fallible aſſent. This was the reaſon I then urged, I muſt now conſider what *E. W.* ſaith in anſwer to it. And the force of his anſwer lies in theſe things.

1. *That all this proceeds from ignorance of the nature of faith, which Diſcourſes not like to ſcience. For he grants that the article* Diſc. 3. c. 2. n. 3, 4.

article of faith which concerns Gods Revelation cannot be proved by another believed article of faith wholly as obſcure to us as that is, for that would proceed in infinitum; *therefore all rational proofs avail to get faith in any muſt of neceſſity be extrinſecal to belief, and lie as it were in another Region more clear yet leſs certain than the revealed myſtery is, we aſſent to by faith. And ſo in that article of faith, the Church is Gods infallible Oracle,* he ſaith, *that antecedently to faith it cannot be proved by arguments as obſcure and of the ſame Infallible certainty with faith, for then faith would be ſuperfluous, or rather we ſhould believe by a firm and infallible aſſent, before we do believe on the motive of Gods infallible Revelation, which is impoſſible. So that the extrinſecal motives of faith whereby the Churches Infallibility is proved independently on Scripture are not of the ſame certainty with ſupernatural faith it ſelf, and only prove the evident credibility either of the Scripture or the Church.*

2. *That the force of this Argument will hold againſt our ſelves, and thoſe who believed in the Apoſtles times, whoſe infallible aſſent of faith doth as much exceed all proportion or degree of evidence as theirs does in believing the Churches Infallibility on the motives of credibility.*

In

In order to the giving a clear and distinct Answer, it will be necessary to enquire 1. What those acts of Faith are, we now Discourse of? 2. What influence the motives of credibility have upon them?

1. For the acts of Faith, there are two assigned by *E.W.* 1. That whereby men believe the Scripture to be the Word of God. 2. That whereby men believe the Church to be Infallible; both these he acknowledges are *Articles of faith, and to be believed with an Infallible assent.* But here mark the shuffling: the first of these cannot be believed, but by an Infallible Testimony, *viz. Of the Church*; for that end the Churches Infallibility is made necessary, that the Faith may be *divine* and *infallible*, *because divine faith can rest only upon Infallible Testimony*; but then in the other act of faith, whereby the Churches Infallibility is believed, we hear no more of this infallible Testimony; because then it is impossible to avoid the circle. I propose therefore this Dilemma to *E.W.* Either it is necessary to every act of divine Faith to have an Infallible Testimony, or it is not: if it be not necessary, then there is no necessity of asserting the Churches Infallibility in order to believing the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and so the cause is gained; if it be necessary, then the faith whereby the

Churches

Churches Infallibility is believed, must have such a divine Teſtimony, and ſo either a proceſs *in infinitum*, or a circle are unavoidable by him. If he conſidered this, and yet writ two ſuch Books to prove the neceſſity of Infallibility in order to faith, he betrays too much inſincerity for a man to deal with him; if he did not, he need not complain ſo much of others Ignorance, he may eaſily find enough nearer home. And therefore all the fault of theſe men does not lie barely in making the aſſent to be more certain than the motives of Faith; but in requiring ſo ſtrictly in one act of Faith a proportionable certainty to the aſſent and not in another. For what is there I beſeech *E. W.* in believing the Churches Infallibility, which ſhould not make it as neceſſary for that to be ſupported by an infallible Teſtimony as that whereby we believe the Divine Revelation? *If faith hath no grounds and doth not Diſcourſe as Science doth*, then I hope the caſe is alike in both: and ſo the neceſſity of an Infallible Teſtimony muſt be affirmed of the one, or equally denyed in the other.

But he ſeems to aſſert, *That faith whatever object it reſpects doth not Diſcourſe as Science doth; but ſolely relies on Gods revealed Teſtimony without the mixture of reaſon.* Grant this at preſent, but then I hope both

theſe

hese acts of faith equally do so; and still he Churches infallibility cannot be made ecessary to faith; for if faith immediately elies on Gods Teſtimony, what need any other to aſcertain it? or any other propoſition, than ſuch as is ſufficient to make known he object of faith, to which end no infallibility in the proponent is neceſſary. Any more than it is neceſſary for the act of love toward a deſireable object, that he that ſhews a Beauty ſhould be infallible in the deſcription of her. If all the neceſſity of the Churches propoſition be no more, ***than to convey the Divine Teſtimony to us***, as *E. W.* ſometimes implies, let him take pains to a little better purpoſe, in proving that ſuch a ***conditio applicans*** as he calls it muſt have infallibility belonging to it. For Infallibility is then only neceſſary, when it is relied upon and is the ground of believing, and not where it is a meer condition of underſtanding. If a Prince ſends an Ambaſſadour about a match to a foraign Princeſs, declaring that he will wholly rely upon his Teſtimony of her, in this caſe there needs the greateſt judgement and veracity in the Perſon truſted; becauſe the Prince reſolves his judgement into his Ambaſſadours Teſtimony; but if he only imploys a Perſon to bring her into the Room where he may ſee her and judge of her himſelf, in this caſe there

Diſc. 3 *c.* 4. *a.* 18.

there is no neceſſity of any other quality
only obedience and fidelity. So we ſay
the Church, if the Churches Teſtimony
to be relied upon as the Foundation of
belief of the Scriptures, then it is neceſſa
the Church ſhould be infallible if there
be no faith without ſuch a Teſtimony;
if all the office of the Church be only to p
poſe the object of faith to be viewed and c
ſidered by us, then a common veracity m
be ſufficient for it. And in this caſe I gra
faith is not to be reſolved into the conditi
of applying the object of faith; any m
than love is into the light whereby a m
ſees Beauty, or the burning of Fire into t
laying near of the fuel: but if it be aſſert
that there can be no divine faith without
infallible Teſtimony, that, this Teſtimony
that of the Church, and therefore upon th
infallible Teſtimony we muſt build our faith
he is blind that doth not ſee in this caſe th
it muſt be reſolved into this infallible teſti
mony. And therefore *E. W.* very imperti
nently charges me with this conſtant errour,

ib. n. 19. ***viz. making the motives of faith the Founda
tion of it, and that hereby I confound th
judgement of credibility with the aſſent
faith; by making the infallible teſtimony
the Church to thoſe who believe it, the forma
object of faith.*** For although the common
motives

otives of faith ſhould do no more than ake the object of faith appear evidently edible, and ſo the faith of ſuch perſons be olved into a further reaſon than thoſe moves; yet they who do believe upon the account of the infallibility of the Churches eſtimony, muſt reſolve their faith into that, which to them is the only infallible and adæquate Ground of Faith.

§. 6. 2. To lay open the Foundation of all theſe miſtakes, about the nature of Faith. I ſhall inquire into the influence which the motives of credibility have upon believing. And therein give an account of theſe three things. 1. What the motives of credibility are? 2. How far they are neceſſary to faith? 3. What influence they have upon the aſſent of Faith? Of the motives of credibility; and their influence on faith.

1. What theſe motives of credibility are? *Suarez* brings them under four heads.

1. From the qualities of the Chriſtian doctrine and thoſe are, 1. Its truth without any mixture of falſhood; but ſaith he, if there be many things true and ſome falſe, it is a ſufficient ſign that doctrine is not from God, as it was among the Philoſophers of old. The way to judge of this quality he thus laies down, thoſe things which the Chri- Suarez *de fide diſp.* 4. *ſect.* 3.

ſtian Religion ſpeaks of, which may be know by natural light are very agreeable to t common reaſon of mankind, thoſe oth things which are above it are not repugna to any principle of it, but are agreeable t the infinite and incomprehenſible Majeſty God. 2. The ſanctity and purity of this do ctrine, as appears by the excellency of th precepts of it; the moral precepts not onl agreeable to the Law of nature, but ten much to the improvement of it; the ſpiritu al precepts have nothing contrary to the rule of morality, and are ſuitable to the perfecti ons of the Divine Nature. 3. The efficacy of it, which is ſeen by the ſtrange and mira culous ways of its propagation, by ſuch in ſtruments as were never like to effect their de ſign without a Divine Power.

2. The ſecond Motive is, from the num ber of witneſſes, of the whole Trinity at the Baptiſm of Chriſt, of Chriſt himſelf in his holy and innocent life, of *Moſes* and the Prophets before him, of the Apoſtles after him, of the Devils themſelves, of the mul titude of Martyrs of all kinds ſuffering with ſo much patience and courage, and Chriſtian Religion increaſing by it.

3. From the Teſtimony God gave to the truth of it; by the Miracles which were wrought in confirmation of the Doctrine preached,

preached, in which ought to be considered the nature, the effects, the frequency, the manner of working them, and the end for which they were wrought, which must be not meerly for the benefit of the person on whom they are wrought, but for a testimony to the truth of the Doctrine delivered; otherwise he grants a Deceiver may work Miracles.

4. From the continuance of this Doctrine in the world, being so hard to believe the Doctrine and practice the precepts of it; meeting with such multitudes of enemies of all kinds; out of all which the credibility of the Christian Religion may be demonstrated, a Divine Providence being supposed to take care of the affairs of mankind. *Greg. de Valentiâ* reckons up these motives to 19. *Michael Medina* follows *Scotus* and makes 10. or 11. of them: on which he largely insists, *viz.* the fulfilling of Propheſies, the consent of Scriptures, their Authority and truth, the care and diligence of the first Christians in examining the Doctrine of Christianity, the excellency of it in all its parts, the propagation of it in the world, the Miracles wrought for the confirmation of it, the testimony of enemies, the justice of providence, and the destruction of its Adversaries. To the same purpose *Cardinal Lugo* and others of the

Greg de Val. nt. Tom. 3. disp. 1. q. 1. punct. 4.

Med na de rectâ in Deum fide l. 2.

Lugo de fide disp. 5. sect. 4.

Fincisc. Va'ent. *Concordia juris Pontificii cum Cæsareo part. 1 q. 1. sect. 6.*

Schoolmen make an enumeration of the motives of credibility; but a late *Jesuit* has reduced them all to the four chief Attributes of God. His Wisdom, Goodness, Power and Providence, but inlarges upon them much in the same way that *Suarez* had done. Thus much may suffice for understanding what these motives of credibility are: which are acknowledged to make up a demonstration for the credibility of the Christian Religion

2. How far these are necessary to faith for that we are to consider that faith being an assent of the rational faculty in man, must proceed upon such grounds as may justifie the assent to be a rational act: which cannot be unless sufficient reason appear to induce the mind to assent, which reason appearing is all one with the credibility of the object which doth not imply here what may be believed either with or without reason, but what all circumstances considered ought to be believed by every prudent person. And in this sense *Suarez* asserts *the necessity of the evidence of credibility to the act of faith:* for faith he, *it is not enough, that the object of faith be proposed as revealed by God, but it is necessary that it be proposed with such circumstances, as make it appear prudently credible in that way it is proposed. For levity*

Suarez. de Fide disp. 4. sect. 2. n. 3.

of judgement and raſhneſs of aſſent he makes inconſiſtent with divine faith; and every man ought ſo to believe as to exclude all fear of the contrary, and ſo as that he can never prudently disbelieve what he now believes; but if a man believes upon bad grounds, he may afterwards prudently reject thoſe grounds. But this is not all, for he makes ſuch a propoſition of the object of faith neceſſary, whereby *it appears evidently credible as revealed by God, and conſequently as certain and infallible.* N. 4. For which he gives this reaſon; *becauſe an inclination of the will to aſſent muſt precede the aſſent of faith before which there muſt be a judgement determining that act of the will; this judgement muſt either be certain, or uncertain; if uncertain it is not ſufficient for divine faith; if it be certain then there muſt be ſuch an evidence of credibility in the object of faith. And although a practical certainty as to matters of humane faith may be ſufficiently founded upon a judgement of probability, i.e.* a man may judge it fit for him to believe where he ſees only a greater probability on one ſide than of the other; *yet in matters of divine faith a higher judgement than of meer probability is neceſſary*, viz. *that which is founded upon the evidence of credibility; for with a meer probability a prudent doubting is conſiſtent,*

which is not with divine faith, and with-
al the certainty of faith is not meerly practi-
cal but ſpeculative, i. e. of the truth of the
thing in it ſelf, and therefore requires a ſpe-
culative evidence of the credibility of the
object. From whence he concludes, *that a*
N. 6. *bare credibility is not ſufficient, but a greater*
credibility of the doctrine believed than of
any other contrary to it; for if two doctrines
appear equally credible there can be only a
doubtful aſſent given to one of them: and a
man might chooſe which he would believe:
but in the aſſent of faith it is not only ne-
ceſſary that there be a greater credibility of
one doctrine than of the other; but that this
N. 7. be evident to natural reaſon: which dictates
that in matters of Salvation that doctrine is
to be believed which appears more evident-
ly credible than any other. To the ſame pur-
poſe *Cardinal Lugo* determines *that the will*
Lugo *de virt. fidei divinæ diſp. 5. ſect. 1. n. 21.* *cannot command a prudent aſſent of faith,*
where there precedes only a probable judge-
ment of the credibility of the object, becauſe
there muſt be the apprehenſion of a certain ob-
ligation to believe, which muſt ariſe from the
evidence of credibility in the object of faith.
Aquin 2.2. qa 1. art. 4. And *Aquinas* himſelf had determined, *that no*
man would believe, unleſs he ſaw that the
things were to be believed, either for the evi-
dence of miracles or ſomething of a like na-
ture:

ture: which *Cajetan* interprets of *believing truly and vertuously: truly*, i. e. *without fear of the contrary, and vertuously*, i. e. *prudently.* So that although men may rashly and indiscreetly believe things without sufficient evidence of their credibility, yet no man can by the acknowledgement of the most learned of the Schoolmen, yield a rational and prudent assent of faith without it. Cajet. *in loc.*

3. The main thing is to consider what influence the evidence of credibility hath upon the act of faith? For *E. W.* asserts *that all that results from thence is only a judgement of credibility, but that the act of faith it self relies wholly upon other principles*; and by the help of the distinction of these two he labours to avoid the force of my arguments. Thus then the matter stands, it is agreed that faith must have rational proofs antecedent to it, but these proofs he must say do not perswade men to believe, or which is all one, have no influence upon the act of Faith. If all that were meant by this talk were only this, that we are then said properly to believe when we fix our assent upon Gods testimony, but that all acts of the mind short of this may not properly be called believing, but by some other name, this would presently appear to be a controversie about words, which I perfectly hate. But more

more must be understood by such men as *E. W.* or else they do not speak at all to the purpose; for the Question is, whether in requiring an infallible assent of faith to the Churches Infallibility upon motives confessedly fallible, an assent be not required beyond all proportion or degree of evidence? to this he answers, *that this argument proceeds upon ignorance of the nature of faith which doth not discourse as Science doth: and he grants that the motives of credibility have not the same certainty that faith hath.* What then can hence follow, but that faith is an unreasonable assent, and hath no grounds; or that it may be stronger than the grounds it proceeds upon? But if it appear, that faith must have grounds, and that the assent of faith can be no stronger than the grounds are, then it follows that they are very unreasonable in requiring an infallible assent of faith to the Churches Infallibility barely upon the motives of credibility.

Of the grounds of faith.

§. 7. 1. That faith must have grounds. If a man had not to deal with persons who have confounded their own understandings with an appearance of subtilty, one would think this as needless a task as to prove that man is a reasonable creature; for if faith be an assent of the mind, taking it as strictly

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and properly as they pleaſe, it muſt have the nature of a rational act, which it cannot have unleſs it proceeds upon reaſonable grounds. The grounds I grant are different in ſeveral aſſents, but it muſt always have ſome. Thoſe which are accounted the moſt immediate aſſents have the cleareſt and moſt evident reaſon, ſuch as the aſſents to firſt principles are, as that the whole is greater than the part, *&c.* and for concluſions drawn from them, the readineſs and firmneſs of the aſſent is proportionable to the evidence of their connexion with thoſe principles from whence they are drawn. In other things that depend upon the evidence of ſenſe, the reaſon of our aſſent to the truth of them, is from the ſuppoſition of the truth of our faculties and that we are ſo framed as not to be impoſed upon, in matters that are plainly and with due circumſtances conveyed to our minds by our Organs of ſenſe. But if there appear an evidence of reaſon overthrowing the certainty of ſenſe, *Scepticiſm* immediately follows and the ſuſpenſion of all aſſent to the truth of things conveyed by our ſenſes; for no man can then be certain of any thing by the evidence of ſenſe, but only of the *appearance* of things. I may be certain, that things do appear with ſuch difference of colours, and taſts, and ſmells; but I cannot

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be certain that there are really such differences in the things themselves. If therefore the *Scepticks* arguments should prevail upon any mans mind so far, as to make him question whether sense be a certain *medium* to convey the truth of the things to his mind, it is impossible that man should yield a firm assent to the truth of any thing on the account of the evidence of sense. So that still, assent proceeds upon the grounds of reason which satisfie the mind, that all circumstances considered it ought not to suspend any longer. Let us now consider such things which are not so evident of themselves, nor conveyed by our senses; and unless we distrust all mankind we have reason to believe some things to be which we never saw our selves, and this is the fundamental ground of that we call believing; which is nothing else, but *taking truth upon trust*; or receiving a thing as true upon such testimony which I see no reason to question. If I see any reason to doubt either the skill or fidelity of those persons upon whose credit I am to rely; it is impossible for me firmly to believe upon their Authority; if I see none, then on that account I believe what they say; wherein it is as evident that my assent is according to the grounds I proceed upon, as that two and two make four. What is it then that hath thus

confounded

confounded theſe mens minds, to make them to contend that the act of divine faith is of ſuch a nature that nothing like it is to be found in any other act of the mind? Muſt we ceaſe to be men by being Chriſtians? or where the ſtrongeſt reaſon is moſt neceſſary, muſt there be none at all? to what end then were there arguments ever uſed to perſwade men to believe Chriſtianity? were thoſe arguments able to perſwade men or not? if they were, then men did believe upon the ſtrength of thoſe arguments; and is it poſſible for men to believe upon the ſtrength of arguments and yet thoſe arguments have no influence upon the act of faith? This is horrible nonſenſe and fit only for thoſe to write who believe contradictions; for ſuch an act of faith indeed can have no reaſon for it. But to come cloſer yet to our matter: *The Churches infallibility is to be believed*, ſaith *E. W. with divine faith*; is there any ground for that act of faith, or not? If there be none, ſhew what obligation to believe there can be, where there is no ground for it: if there be, I deſire to know, whether they are able to perſwade me or not; if not, ſhew then why I ought to believe on inſufficient grounds; if they be, may not I then believe upon thoſe grounds? and if I do, doth not that act of faith rely upon thoſe grounds?

Beſides,

Beſides, of thoſe who plead for the neceſſity of the Churches infallibility, I deſire to know on what account they do it? Is it not, that faith may have a ſufficient Foundation to be built upon, which in their opinion cannot be without ſuch infallibility? and yet after all this, muſt not faith ſtand upon this ground? Why then are, *Scotus*, *Durand*, *Gabriel*, *Medina* and others charged by ſome of the Roman Church with *reſolving faith into the Churches teſtimony*? What is this elſe but only to make the Churches Teſtimony the ground of faith? Nay, why are there any diſputes at all about the formal object of faith? For the formal object is nothing but the reaſon of believing, and what account can be given of the reaſon of believing if there be none at all? But it may be all this while I miſtake my profound Adverſary, it being hardly poſſible that a man of common ſenſe ſhould write ſuch ſtuff. To prevent any ſuſpicion of this nature I ſhall lay down his aſſertions in his own words; from ſeveral places of his worthy works.

Canus l. 2. c. 8. Lugo *de virt. fidei diſp.* 1. *ſect.* 5.

Proteſt. without Principles *diſc.* 1. *c.* 11. *n.* 2. Reaſon and Religion *diſc.* 3. *c* 1. *n.* 10.

Faith ſolely relies on Gods revealed Teſtimony without the mixture of Reaſon for its Motive; the previous Motives well pondered, bring with them an obligation to believe and not faith it ſelf. For, *Faith reaſons not, but ſimply believes: Faith contrary to ſcience*

goes

goes beyond the certainty of all extrinſecal inducements. And afterwards, where he attempts to anſwer *the main difficulty*, as he calls it, in the reſolution of faith, (which in ſhort is, ſince the motives of credibility ſeem to leave the matter doubtful, what that is, which determines the aſſent to the objects of faith as infallibly true?) waving at preſent that anſwer, *that it is from the command of the will*, he ſeems *to attribute ſo great an evidence to the Motives of credibility, that they do infallibly prove the truth of divine Revelation, there being an inſeparable connexion between the Motives and divine Revelation*; but then he ſtarts an untoward objection, *viz.* that then the Revelation muſt appear evident and ſo faith would be evident; to which he anſwers *by denying the conſequence, becauſe this aſſent is ſcience and not faith; now this evidence ariſing from the motives of credibility, faith*, ſaith he, *as faith leaves, or lays aſide, and firmly adheres to the Divine Revelation only for it ſelf, as contradiſtinct both from the Moral evidence of the Motives, and their apparent connexion with the Revelation. The reaſon is taken*, ſaith he, *from the notion of faith, which eſſentially tends obſcurely upon its own object, as the moſt ancient Fathers aſſert. From whence it is clear*, if you believe him, *that* C. 8. N. 4. N. 10.

no

no evidence of the teſtimony aſſented to can move to faith, not only becauſe we ſhould in the caſe of evidence be neceſſitated to believe, but upon this account alſo, that the certitude of faith, taken from the ſupreameſt verity, is of a higher ſtrain and far ſurpaſſes all the certitude we find in nature, or in the Motives inducing to believe. But which is more pleaſant he yet adds, *It is true, the more evident theſe motives appear the better they induce to believe, yet for that reaſon have leſs to do with the very act of faith*, which as he ſaid, *reſts upon and lays claim to no lower a verity, than the moſt pure and ſupream only, and if it reſts not here, it is no faith.* And yet after all this he aſſerts, *that the evidence of credibility apparent in thoſe manifeſt ſigns and marks which illuſtrate true Chriſtianity is abundantly ſufficient to induce the moſt obdurate heart in the world to believe with ſuch an Aſſent as ſuits Gods great Majeſty*, i. e. *with a faith moſt firm and infallible.* Here we have Motives, ſuch Motives as give evidence of divine Revelation, ſuch motives as are ſufficient to induce the moſt obdurate perſon to an infallible aſſent of faith; and yet after all this evidence by theſe motives in order to believing; this believing hath nothing to do with them, and the more they induce to believe, the leſs influence

N. 11.

Dif. 3. c. 10. n. 7.

fluence they have upon faith, for that fixeth on the divine Revelation ſolely for it ſelf, and hath a certainty beyond that of the greateſt arguments that are uſed for believing. He that hath the faculty of underſtanding theſe things ought to oblige mankind with a clearer diſcovery of them, than *E. W.* hath made; who doth not ſeem to underſtand what he writes himſelf and therefore it cannot be expected that others ſhould. But the Foundation of all this Nonſenſe, is a ſtrange apprehenſion of the nature of ***faith***, which the School-doctrine hath ſo rivited into him, that it ſeems to be of the nature of a firſt principle with him, which muſt be ſuppoſed as the Baſis of all his diſcourſe; which is, that ***faith is an obſcure and inevident aſſent, or that it eſſentially tends obſcurely to its object***, and therefore no motives, or arguments how clear or ſtrong ſoever can have any influence upon faith. For he imagines as great an oppoſition between ***arguments*** and ***faith*** as between light and darkneſs; he firſt conceives faith to be a kind of deep Dungeon of the ſoul full of darkneſs and obſcurity, and then bids men have a care of bringing any light into it, for if they do, it ceaſeth to be what he deſcribed it. A light may ſerve a man very well to ſhew him the way to this Dungeon, nay it may direct him to the

very door; but then farewel to all light, not the leaſt creviſe muſt be left to let in any to the mind that is once entred it; but the excellency of it is, that the ſoul fixes more certainly on its object in this ſtate of darkneſs than it could do being environed with the cleareſt light. Juſt as if a man ſhould ſay there is a particular way of *ſeeing* with *one eys ſhut*, which is far more admirable and excellent, than all the common ways of beholding things; being far more certain and piercing than ſeeing by the help of eyes and light is; for the light and ſight may both fail in the repreſentation of an object; but this ſeeing without eyes is an infallible way to prevent all the fallacies of ſenſe. Much in this way doth *E. W.* talk; for all arguments are fallible, and therefore by no means muſt faith proceed upon them; O but this believing *without*, or *above*, or it may be *againſt arguments*, is the moſt infallible thing in the world; for that man need never fear being deceived with reaſon that diſowns the uſe of it. Upon theſe grounds a skilful Painter may make a ſhift to bungle and to draw ſome rude uneven ſtrokes by the help of his Pencil and a good light; but if he would be ſure not to miſs making an excellent Piece he ought to ſhut his eyes or darken his Room, for then to be ſure that fallible thing called

light

light can never deceive him. An indifferent perſon that only conſulted the nature and reaſon of things could never have fallen into theſe dotages; but it hath been the intereſt of ſome men to cry down *light* that have had *falſe wares* to put off. But of all things I wonder if this be the whole nature of Chriſtian faith to believe no man knows why nor wherefore, (for if he doth, his faith ceaſes to be faith being built upon reaſon) why all this ado is kept about an infallible Church and motives of credibility? cannot a man believe without reaſon at firſt as well at laſt? cannot faith fix upon Gods Revelation for it ſelf, without troubling thoſe motives of credibility to no purpoſe? If a man hath a mind to leap blindfold from a Precipice, why cannot he do it without ſo much ceremony? muſt he have all his attendance about him, and his Gentleman-uſher to conduct him to the very brink of the Rock, and there bid him Goodnight? If all theſe motives of credibility contribute nothing to the act of believing, what uſe are they of in ſuch a Religion, where Faith is look'd on as the great Principle of practice and the means of ſalvation? If the judgement of credibility would ſave men, they might ſtill be uſeful; but this will be by no means allowed, for nothing in their opinion, but this *blind Guide* Homily on Salvation

(which they call faith) can conduct men to Heaven.

Of the Scripture-notion of the obscurity of Faith.

§. 8. But what is it that hath made men so in love with nonsense and contradictions? Hath the Scripture given any countenance to this notion of faith? Yes doubtless; they are such lovers of Scripture, that they dare not take up any opinion in these matters without plain Scripture. Then I hope Scripture may be plain in clear things, if it be so in the description of so obscure a thing as they make faith to be. But doth not the Scripture say, *that Faith is the Substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen; and is not this all one as if it had been said that faith essentially tends obscurely to its object, and that it is an inevident assent and therefore cannot make use of arguments?* This I know is all the pretence they have for this notion of faith; but is it not very pretty, because faith is called *an evidence* therefore it must be *inevident*, or to follow the vulgar Latine because it is called an *argument* therefore it can use *none?* No man is so senseless to deny, that we believe things we do not see, and things which cannot be seen; we believe some things which might have been seen, and were seen by some whose credit we rely upon; as the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ:

Heb. 11. 1.

we

we believe other things which are uncapable of being ſeen by our ſenſes, as the Joys of Heaven and the Torments of Hell; and as to ſuch things faith ſupplies the want of the Evidence of ſenſe to us; and by it our minds are aſſured of the truth of them though we do not or cannot ſee them. Which is all that is intended by this deſcription of faith; but how doth it hence follow that our faith muſt be an *immediate*, *inevident*, *obſcure aſſent*, on which all the arguments that perſwade men to believe, can have no influence? May not I believe that Chriſt died and roſe again, and will come to judge the quick and the dead, becauſe I ſee all the reaſon in the world to perſwade me to believe it, from the teſtimony of thoſe who ſaw him and have delivered his doctrine to us, and have given the greateſt evidence of their fidelity? Doth the ſtrength of the argument hinder me at all from believing what I did not ſee? I had rather thought the more obſcure the object had been, (for it is little better than nonſenſe to call *an act of faith obſcure*), the greater neceſſity there had been of ſtrong evidence to perſwade a man to believe; not ſuch evidence as doth ariſe from the nature of the thing, for that is contrary to the obſcurity of the object, but ſuch as gives the greateſt reaſon to believe from the Authority of thoſe on whoſe Teſti-

mony I rely. So that the greateſt clearneſs and evidence as to the Teſtimony is not repugnant to the nature of Faith; this only ſhews that in Chriſtian Religion we do not proceed by meer evidence of ſenſe or rigorous demonſtrations in the things we aſſent to; but that the great things we believe are remote from ſenſe and received upon the Authority of the Revealer; yet ſo, as that we aſſert we have as great evidence that theſe things were revealed by God, as the matter was capable of; and ſuch evidence we ſay ought to perſwade any prudent perſon. This is all which the deſcription of faith ſo much alledged doth imply; which was never intended for an accurate definition of it; for as *Hugo de ſancto Victore* ſaith of it, ***non indicat quid eſt fides, ſed ſignat quid facit***; it doth not ſhew what faith is, but what it doth; by making things future and inviſible to have as great power and influence on mens minds as if they were preſent and viſible. And when the *Fathers* ſpeak of the obſcurity of Faith, they do not mean an aſſent without grounds, but the belief of things out of our view; and that obſcurity is underſtood by them in compariſon with the clearneſs of a future ſtate: or in oppoſition to the way of proving things by meer reaſon without Revelation. So *Cardinal Lugo* truly anſwers the

Teſtimonies

Teſtimonies of Fathers to that purpoſe, by ſaying *that when they exclude reaſon and arguments from faith they take them as they are oppoſed to Authority; but in as much as they ſuppoſe the myſteries of Chriſtian faith to be believed for the ſake of Divine Revelation, a diſcourſe is thereby implied from the Authority of God revealing to the myſteries believed.* Neither is ſuch *diſcourſe* only requiſite, but that in the firſt place which doth aſſure men of the truth of this Revelation; for upon that, the other muſt proceed. All *mediums* uſed for the proof of this, muſt be extrinſecal to the nature of the thing, and therefore cannot be repugnant to faith; and in this I have the conſent of ſome of the moſt learned of the Schoolmen, who make *evidentiam in atteſtante* as they call it, conſiſtent with faith. Lugo *de virtut. fid. Divin. diſp.* 7. *ſect.* 2. *n.* 16.

But ſaith *E. W. No thanks to thee poor creature, to aſſent hadſt thou Evidence.* This it is now to hope to merit at Gods hands by a blind faith! for ſo elſewhere, he ſaith, *evidence is incompatible with that merit and obſequiouſneſs of faith; which God requires of his rational creatures who are to walk to Heaven by an humble and dutiful faith.* A very *humble faith* certainly that hopes to *merit* by believing! And very *dutiful* in expecting ſo large a reward for doing it knows not *Diſ.* 3. *c.* 8. *n.* 16. *c.* 10. *n.* 5.

what! We think it our duty to believe firmly whatever God saith; but withal we think it our duty to enquire carefully whether God hath said it or no before we believe; and according to the evidence we have of this we assent to the former. *But this is not to proceed Nobly with God*, saith *E. W.* Brave man! It hath been reported of a *Hector* in this Town that a little before his death he said *he hoped God would deal with him like a Gentleman:* It seems *E. W.* would deal so with *God*. We have often heard of works of super-erogation; but our *noble E. W.* is not content with them, he will have a *faith of super-erogation* too. We poor creatures, are contented to do our duties, and take it as a great Favour, for God to accept of the best we can do: We dare not so much as think of such terms of kindness and favour from us to God, as *to proceed Nobly with him.* Neither do we believe, that God is so hugely pleased with the blind and the lame, when they are offered in sacrifice to him. Whatever *E. W.* imagines, it is no such *Noble proceeding* to believe infallibly upon confessedly fallible grounds. For that is the present case, he grants that the motives of credibility are not infallible, and that there are no other motives in order to faith above these, and yet he supposes we ought to oblige

God

God by giving an infallible aſſent upon theſe Motives. But the bottom of all is *That our Faith ought to be ſuitable to Gods infallible veracity, which Faith immediately reſts upon and from whence and not from the motives, infallible certainty* as *E W.* ſpeaks, *is transfuſed into it.* This deep ſpeculation by no means ſatisfies me; for though I know it to be impoſſible for God to lie or to deceive; yet our queſtion is not about believing the truth of what God ſaith, but about believing this or that to be revealed by him. And while the Queſtion is whether Gods veracity be concerned in the thing, how is it poſſible for his *Veracity to transfuſe an Infallible Certainty into my Belief of it?* Suppoſe *E. W.* be acquainted with as honeſt a man as ever lived, and one comes and tells him from him that ſuch a Friend of his was dead, and gave him five hundred pound; I would fain know whether the unqueſtionable veracity of the Friend, from whom the Meſſenger ſaith he received it, can transfuſe an unqueſtionable certainty in his mind of the truth of the thing, while he is yet in doubt whether his faithful Friend ſaid it or no? If his aſſent here be not according to the veracity of his Friend, unleſs he be firſt aſſured of the fidelity of the reporter; No more can it be in the preſent caſe of believing. For no

one

one questions what God saith, but our only doubt is whether God hath said it; and whilst one gives no infallible assent to the one, he cannot infallibly rest upon the other. *But may not credible arguments as to the Messenger be sufficient for infallible belief of the thing upon the Authority of the other?* For that, I appeal to *E. W.* whether his belief of the thing would not in that case be according to the grounds he had to believe the Messenger? and the Authority of his Friend would make him so much the more Question whether his name might not be abused by a Person that had a design to put a trick upon him; especially if that Messenger challenged to himself so much credit that he ought to be believed without any dispute at all. For in this case, the over eager affirming would give a man cause to question the more the truth of the person, if his evidence bear no proportion with his confidence. So it is in our present case: it is granted on all sides, if God reveals any thing it must be true: our enquiry is how far we are to believe that God hath said such a thing upon the credit of those who convey it to us; if they desire no more credit with us than they give sufficient evidence for, then we are bound to believe them; but if they exact an infallible assent and offer only fallible grounds we have reason to mistrust their design;

ſign; and ſo long as we do ſo, we muſt queſtion the thing which we are to believe upon their credit. If they require only an aſſent ſuitable to their evidence it would be unreaſonable to deny it, but ſtill the degree of our aſſent to the Revelation is proportionable to the degree of evidence that it is a divine Revelation. Which Dr. *Holden* thinks to be ſo evident, that he accounts it loſt labour for a man to go about to prove it to any one that hath common ſenſe: *viz. That no aſſent of divine Faith can have any greater true and rational certainty, than the aſſent of the medium hath, by which the object of Faith is applied to the underſtanding. For whatever certainty we can attribute to an intellectual aſſent upon the Authority of God revealing it is neceſſary it ſhould come from and depend upon the certainty of the medium, by which this Authority of God revealing is conveyed to the underſtanding. For as it is impoſſible that a man ſhould believe or yield aſſent to any thing becauſe it is revealed by God, unleſs he thinks and knows that God hath revealed it; ſo it is impoſſible that he ſhould believe the things revealed by God with greater true and rational certainty, than that by which he knows that God revealed them. For whatever degree of uncertainty or doubt there is in the mind of a believer*

Holden Analyſ. fidei l. 1. c. 3.

believer of the certainty and truth of the medium, there must be the same in that assent whereby he believes the things which are proposed by that medium. Because with what degree a man doubts whether God hath revealed this or that, he cannot but doubt in the same degree of that which is said to be revealed by God. For what man in his wits doth not presently perceive that no man can be more certain of that thing which God is said to reveal, than he is certain that God hath revealed it; as no man can be more certain of the things done by Cæsar, *than they are that* Cæsar *was; or of the mysteries revealed by Christ, than that Christ was. This he saith he had never mentioned, unless some later Divines,* (such as *E. W.*) *discoursing vainly and Sceptically, and not considering the true reason of believing, had feigned to themselves he knew not what kind of divine and supernatural certainty in Christian Faith (passing by the true and rational) which it is clearer than noon day, is but an idle and imaginary thing.* Good Reader, observe the power of reason over an ingenuous mind; I know not what entertainment Dr. *H.* might have given *E. W.* on other accounts; but it is plain by this Discourse he thought *a dark Room* the fittest for him, since he pronounces *that no man in his*

Sences

Senſes can aſſert the things which he confidently doth. Although therefore he thought this needleſs to be proved, yet I muſt proceed to ſhew,

§. 9. 2. That the Aſſent of Faith can be no ſtronger than the Grounds are. For if it doth proceed upon Grounds, thoſe are of the nature of Premiſes and the aſſent of faith as the concluſion drawn from them, and therefore muſt be ſtronger or weaker according to them. In every act of Faith which hath a particular Revelation for its object; there muſt be two diſtinct premiſes conceived from whence that which is the proper act of believing follows. As ſuppoſe the Queſtion be concerning the Reſurrection of the dead, why I believe that article of Faith to be true, the preſent Anſwer is becauſe God hath revealed it; but therein lies the force of a Syllogiſm, by which it will appear that the act of Faith follows as the concluſion from the premiſes. Whatſoever God reveals is true, but God hath revealed the Reſurrection of the dead, therefore it is true. Now ſince the force of a concluſion depends upon the premiſes, the aſſent of Faith cannot be ſuppoſed ſtronger and firmer than the Premiſes are from which it reſults. For however it may hold in other cauſes; in thoſe which are moral and final,

Of the power of the Will in the aſſent of Faith.

final, it is an undoubted Maxim of reaſon, *That which makes an other thing to be ſo, muſt be much more ſo it ſelf:* As that end which makes any thing deſirable for its ſake, is much more deſirable it ſelf, becauſe it is that which moves the Soul to deſire the means; and ſo it is likewiſe in whatever moves the underſtanding to aſſent as well as the will to deſire: but the Premiſes do move the underſtanding to aſſent to the concluſion, therefore the conſent to the concluſion muſt be agreeable to that of the Premiſes. This difficulty hath ſo racked and tormented the minds of the Schoolmen, that *Arriaga* relates *he hath heard the moſt Learned and Ingenious among them profeſs they could find no way through it. While they did require an infallible aſſent in the concluſion, when there could be no infallible aſſent to one of the Premiſes*, viz. *that God hath revealed this.* Which ſome have thought they got over when they aſſerted *the neceſſity of the Churches Infallibility*, as the foundation of that aſſent. But granting them the truth of that, yet they have given the difficulty but one remove by it, for it ſpeedily returns again, concerning the belief of the Churches Infallibility, which they agree muſt be believed infallibly, and yet here again they offer at no more than motives confeſſed to be fallible to

Arriaga Curſ Philo. diſp. 16. Sect 4.

prove

prove it. And ſo at laſt they are fain to take up with other Anſwers, which make the Churches Infallible Propoſition of no uſe at all in this matter: for if the aſſent be ſaid to be *immediate to the Revelation*, if the ſtrength of it ariſes either from *the Spirit of God*, or the *pious inclination of the Will*, and not from the motives of Faith, if any of theſe waies can ſolve the difficulty; then however from hence it follows that all theſe will equally do it without ever ſo much as ſuppoſing the *neceſſity of the Churches infallible Teſtimony*. I ſhall not now trouble my ſelf with others, but conſider my Adverſary who after making ſeveral attempts this way and that, at laſt bethinks of a good Friend in a corner, called *the Power of the Will*, and to this he is willing *to attribute the ſtrength of the aſſent, when it exceeds the motives of Faith: which he thinks the more plain and eaſie way*; and therefore aſſerts *that after the previous judgement of credibility, the Will works by her pious affection, and that moves the underſtanding to elicit the infallible aſſent of Faith. For* ſaith he, *if it be demanded how the underſtanding dares reſt moſt firmly on an object not evidently ſeen, we paſs from that Power to the Will and ſay, ſhe can by her pious affection command the intellectual faculty to captivate it ſelf in*

Diſc. 3. c. 8. n. 14, 15, 16.

c. 9. n. 5.

c. 10. n. 10.

Obſequium

Obſequium fidei *and believe moſt undoubtedly.* This is the laſt Reſerve in this matter, which is as weak as any of the former. For if the Will can determine the underſtanding to aſſent beyond the ſtrength of the motives, it may determine it to aſſent without any motives at all; becauſe that degree of aſſent which doth exceed the evidence of the motives hath nothing to incline or move it beſides the meer power of the Will: and if it can command the higheſt and moſt Infallible aſſent without Infallible grounds it may equally command a fallible aſſent without fallible grounds, and by this means there will be no need of any motives of credibility at all. Beſides, this takes away any ſuch thing as the formal object of divine Faith; for if the Infallible aſſent of Faith do come from the power of the Will; then to what purpoſe is any formal object of that aſſent enquired after? For the formal object doth aſſign a reaſon of believing from the object it ſelf, of which there can be none if the Will by her own Power elicit that which is the proper aſſent of Faith. And all other material objects of Faith may be believed in as infallible a manner by the ſame power of the Will. But if the Will can command the underſtanding to aſſent beyond the degree of evidence; why may not the underſtanding

dictate

dictate to the Will to desire a thing beyond the degree of goodness appearing to it; and by this means both those faculties would tend to their objects in a way disagreeing to their nature.

All these ways being found insufficient, *Cardinal Lugo* saith *some had recourse at last to a mysterious elevation of the understanding, beyond all connatural ways of its operation, whereby it lays hold on the matters of Faith in a way wholly inexplicable*; and however the *Cardinal* slights this way, and expresseth a great detestation of it, *as that which renders the matters of Faith incredible and imperceptible*; yet I think it absolutely the best for those of the Roman Church that hath yet been thought of; and I would particularly commend it to *E. W.* who loves to talk so unintelligibly and confusedly, as if he had this habit of believing infused already. *Lugo de fide disp. 1. Sect. 4. n. 38.*

And thus much in vindication of the first argument, I proposed against making the Infallible Testimony of the Church the foundation of Faith, and yet that Infallibility to be only proved by the motives of credibility, *viz.* that hereby an infallible assent must be built upon fallible grounds. As to what *E. W.* saith by way of recrimination it shall be answered, when I come to defend our own grounds of Faith.

Rational Account part 1. c. 5. Sect. 6. The second Argument defended against *E. W.*

§. 10. The next Argument, which affords any new matter to my Adversary, whereby I shewed this way of resolving Faith to be unreasonable was, because by making the Infallible Testimony of the Church necessary to Faith, they make that necessary to Faith which was not made so by Christ or his Apostles. What then, say I, will become of the Faith of all those who received Divine Revelations, without the Infallible Testimony of any Church at all? With what Faith did the Disciples of Christ at the time of his suffering, believe the Divine Authority of the Old Testament? was it a true Divine Faith or not? If it was whereon was it built? Not certainly on the Infallible Testimony of the Jewish Church, which at that time consented to the death of the Messias, condemning him as a Malefactor and Deceiver: Or did they believe it because of the great rational evidence they had to convince them, that those Prophesies came from God? If so, why may not we believe the Divinity of all the Scriptures on the same grounds and with a Divine Faith too? With what Faith did those believe in the Messias who were not personally present at the Miracles which our Saviour wrought, but had them conveyed to them by such reports as the womans of *Sama-*

ria

ria was to the *Samaritans*? Or were all such persons excused from believing, meerly because they were not spectators? But by the same reason all those would be excused, who never saw our Saviours Miracles, or heard his Doctrine or his Apostles: but if such persons then were bound to believe, I ask on what Testimony was their Faith founded? Was the woman of *Samaria* Infallible in reporting the Discourse between Christ and her? Were all the persons Infallible who gave an account to others of what Christ did? Yet I suppose, had it been your own case, you would have thought your self bound to have believed Christ to have been the Messias, if you had lived at that time, and a certain account had been given you of our Saviours Doctrine and Miracles by men faithful and honest, though you had no reason to have believed them infallible: I pray, Sir, answer me, would you have thought your self bound to have believed or no? If you affirm it (as I will suppose you so much a Christian as to say so) I pray then tell me whether persons in those circumstances might not have a true and divine Faith where there was no infallible Testimony, but only Rational Evidence to build it self upon? And if those Persons might have a divine Faith upon such evidence as that was, may not we much more who have

evidence of the same nature indeed, but much more extensive, universal, and convincing than that was? And how then can you still assert an Infallible Testimony of the conveyers of divine Revelation to be necessary in order to a divine Faith? Nay further yet, how few were there in comparison, in the first Ages of the Christian Church, who received the Doctrine of the Gospel from the mouths of persons Infallible? and of those who did so, what certain evidence have men, that all those persons did receive the Doctrine upon the account of the Infallibility of the Propounders, and not rather upon the Rational evidence of the Truth of the Doctrine delivered; and whether the belief of their Infallibility was absolutely necessary to Faith, when the report of the evidences of the Truth of the Doctrine might raise in them an obligation to believe, supposing them not Infallible in that delivery of it, but that they looked on them as honest men, who faithfully related what they had seen and heard? and to which evidence of sense the Apostles and Evangelists appealed; so that when there was certainly an infallible Testimony, yet that is not urged as the only Foundation for Faith, but Rational Evidence produced even by those Persons who were thus infallible. If we descend lower in the Christian Church,

1 Joh. 1. 1.
2 Pet. 1. 16.
Luk. 1. 1, 2.

or

or walk abroad to view the ſeveral Plantations of the Churches at that time, where do we read or meet with the leaſt intimation of an Infallible Teſtimony of the Catholick Church, ſo called from its Communion with that of *Rome*? What Infallible Teſtimony of that Church had the poor *Britains* to believe on? Or thoſe *Barbarians* mentioned in *Irenæus*, who yet believed without a written Word? What mention do we meet with in all the ancient Apologeticks of Chriſtians wherein they give ſo large an account of the grounds of Chriſtian Faith, of the modern method for reſolving Faith? Nay, what one ancient Father or Council give the leaſt countenance to this pretended Infallibility, much leſs make it the only ſure Foundation of Faith as you do? Nay how very few are there among your ſelves who believe it, and yet think themſelves never the worſe Chriſtians for it? If then your Doctrine be true what becomes of the Faith of all theſe perſons mentioned? Upon your principles their Faith could not be true and Divine Faith; that is, let them all think they believed the Doctrine of Chriſt never ſo heartily, and obey it never ſo conſcientiouſly; yet becauſe they did not believe on the Infallibility of your Church, their Faith was but a kind of guilded and ſplendid infidelity, and none of them Chriſti-

ans, becauſe not Jeſuits. And doth not this principle then fairly advance Chriſtianity in the world, when the belief of it comes to be ſettled on Foundations, never heard of in the beſt and pureſt times of it; nay ſuch Foundations, as for want of their believing them, their Faith muſt be all in vain, and Chriſt dyed in vain for them.

And what now ſaith *E. W.* to all this? *Firſt*, he ſaith, *I do not bring Inſtances enough. Secondly, That I bring too many.*

1. That I do not bring enough; for he much wonders *I omit to touch upon an inſtance far more difficult than any of theſe concerning rude and illiterate perſons, which I and all others are bound to ſolve.* Me-

Diſc. 3. c. 3. n. 6.

thinks he might have been contented with thoſe I had brought, unleſs he had anſwered them better; and ſhould not have blamed me for omitting that which I purpoſely take notice of and give a ſufficient anſwer to in theſe words. Although the Ignorance and careleſneſs of men in a matter of ſo great conſequence be ſo great in all Ages, as is not to be juſtified, becauſe all men ought to endeavour after the higheſt ways of ſatisfaction in a matter ſo nearly concerning them (and it is none of the leaſt things to be blamed in your Church, that ſhe doth ſo much countenance this ignorance and neglect of the Scripture)

Rational Account part 1. c. 6. Sect. 15.

yet

yet for such persons who either morally or invincibly are hindred from this capacity of examining Scripture, there may be sufficient means for their Faith to be built upon. For although such illiterate persons cannot themselves see and read the Scripture, yet as many as do believe do receive the Doctrine of it by that sense, by which Faith is conveyed; and by that means they have so great certainty as excludes all doubting, that such Doctrines and such matters of Fact are contained in these Books, by which they come to the understanding of the nature of this Doctrine and are capable of judging concerning the Divinity of it. For the Light spoken of in Scripture is not a light to the eye but to the mind; now the mind is capable of this light, as well by the ear, as by the eyes. The case then of such honest illiterate persons, as are not capable of reading Scripture, but diligently and devoutly hear it read to them, is much of the same nature with those who heard the Apostles Preach this Doctrine before it was writ. For whatever was an Argument to such to believe the Apostles in what they spake, becomes an Argument to such who hear the same things, which are certainly conveyed to us, by an unquestionable Tradition: So that nothing hinders but such illiterate persons may resolve their Faith into the same

Doctrine and Motives which others do, only those are conveyed to *them* by the *ear*, which are conveyed to *others* by the *eyes*. But if you suppose persons so rude and illiterate, as not to understand any thing, but that they are to believe as the Church believes; do you if you can, resolve their Faith for them; for my part I cannot, and am so far from it that I have no reason to believe they can have any. Judge now, Reader, what measure I am like to meet with from such men, who can so impudently charge me with omitting a difficulty, which I give so punctual an answer to.

2. But those instances I have brought are too many for him; as will easily appear by the shuffling answers he makes to them. My design was from them to prove that the Churches Infallibity was not necessary in order to Faith; he puts it thus: *If the Infallibility of the Church be a sure Foundation of Faith*, &c. Is not this a good beginning to put *Sure* in stead of *Necessary*, or *only sure?* For that *may be sure* which is *not necessary*, and it was the necessity I disproved by these Instances. To them however he attempts to give an Answer.

c. 3. n. 5.

1. In general. *That none make the Roman Catholick Church in all circumstances the only sure Foundation of Divine Faith. For*

n. 7.

the

the first man that believed in Christ our Lord before the compleat establishment of his Church had perfect faith resting on that great Master of Truth, without dependance on the Christian Church, for Christ alone was not the Church, but the Head of it. Faith therefore in general requires no more, but only to rely upon God the first verity speaking by this or that Oracle, by one or more men lawfully sent to teach, who prove their mission and make the doctrine proposed by them evidently credible. In like manner the Apostles preached no doctrine in the name of the new Christian Church, whilst our Saviour lived here on earth, but testified that he was the true Messias by vertue of those signs and miracles which had been already wrought above the force of Nature. A very fair concession! which plainly destroys the necessity of the Churches infallibility in order to Faith. For if no more be necessary in order to faith, *but to rely upon God the first verity speaking by this or that Oracle*, &c. how comes the infallible testimony of the Church to be in any Age necessary to faith? For God spake by Christ and his Apostles as his *Oracles* by whom his word is declared to us, therefore nothing can be necessary to faith but to rely upon God the first Truth speaking by them. And this we assert as well as they. But he must prove that we cannot rely on God

God as ſpeaking by them, unleſs he hath an *infallible Church* in every Age, if he will make this infallible teſtimony of the Church neceſſary to faith; which I deſpair of ever ſeeing done while the world ſtands.

2. In particular, 1. To the inſtance of the diſciples of Chriſt believing the divine Authority of the old Teſtament without any infallible teſtimony of the Jewiſh Church; only upon the rational evidence they had to convince them that thoſe Propheſies came from God: he anſwers; *that it is hard to ſay where the force of it lies, ſeeing there were innumerable Jews then diſperſed all* Jury *over and the other parts of the world who moſt firmly believed the Divine Authority of thoſe Books, upon whoſe Teſtimony the Apoſtles might believe thoſe Books to be divine.* A moſt excellent anſwer if we well conſider it! Have not they of the Church of *Rome* proved the neceſſity of infallibility in the Church from *Deut.* 17. 10, 11, 12. (of which abundant inſtances might be produced, and particularly *the Conſiderator of my Principles*) which words if they imply any Infallibility at all do neceſſarily prove that it is lodged in the ſupream Eccleſiaſtical Judges and no where elſe; ſo that if there were no infallibility in them it could not be ſuppoſed to be any where elſe; therefore I propoſed the caſe at that time

N. 8.

when

when these Ecclesiastical Judges consented to the death of Christ, and my Question will not only hold of the *Apostles* but of any common *Jews* among them, who might not believe Christ infallible, any more than the *Sanhedrin*, I ask whether such might not have seen sufficient ground to believe that *the Prophesies came not in old time by the will of man, but by the Will of God?* if such persons had reason sufficient for their faith without any infallible Testimony; the same I say may all Christians have of the Divine Authority of the New Testament. For if the concurrent Testimony of the dispersed Jews firmly believing the divine Authority of the Old Testament were a sufficient ground for a person then to believe the Divinity of those Books; why may not the concurrent Testimony of all Christians afford as sufficient a ground to believe the Authority of the Books of the New, though no Ecclesiastical Senate among Christians be supposed any more infallible, than the Jewish *Sanhedrin* was at the death of Christ? and by this I hope *E. W.* may a little better perceive what this objection aims at. *But*, saith he, *hence it follows not, that then there was no Jewish Church which believed the divine verities of the old Scripture*: O the monstrous subtilty of Jesuits! who is able to stand before their

their terrible wits? What have we to do with a Churches believing the divine verities of the Old Scripture? we only enquire for the Teſtimony of a Church as neceſſary in order to others believing it. If they firmly believed and yet had no infallible Teſtimony of a Church at that time what can be more to our advantage than this? ſeeing it hence follows, that there may be a firm faith without any Churches infallible Teſtimony. *Well, but he verily thinks, I miſtook one objection for another; perhaps I would have ſaid that the Apoſtles loſt faith of our Saviours Reſurrection at the time of his Paſſion, but this difficulty is ſolved over and over.* And then falls unmercifully to work with this man of clouts; he throws him firſt down and tramples upon him, then ſets him up again to make him capable of more valour being ſhown upon him, then he kicks him afreſh, beats him of one ſide and then of the other, and ſo terribly triumphs over him, that the poor man of clouts bleſſeth himſelf that he is not made of fleſh and bones, for if he had, it might have coſt him ſome aches and wounds. But I aſſure him I meant no ſuch thing; yet if I had, I do not ſee, but after all his batteries, the argument, ſuch as it is, would have ſtood firm enough; for ſuppoſing the Infallible Teſtimony of the Church to

N. 9.

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reſt in the Apoſtles after our Saviours death, it muſt have prejudiced the faith of others who were to believe that article upon their Authority, if they loſt the faith of Chriſts Reſurrection.

2. I inſtanced in thoſe who believed in Chriſt and yet were not perſonally preſent at the miracles which our Saviour wrought, but had them conveyed to them by ſuch reports as the womans of *Samaria* was to the *Samaritans*. Of theſe I ask what infallible Teſtimony their faith was built upon? And if thoſe perſons might have a Divine Faith meerly upon rational evidence, may not we much more who have evidence of the ſame nature, but much more extenſive, univerſal and convincing than that was? To this he anſwers, *by diſtinguiſhing between the Motive or the* N. 10. *natural Propoſition of faith, which comes by hearing and the infallible Oracle whereupon it relies; and he thinks it ſtrange I did not ſee the diſtinction.* It is far eaſier to ſee the diſtinction than the pertinency of it to his purpoſe; for our Queſtion is not about the neceſſity of an Infallible Oracle in order to Faith, but of an infallible Propoſition; we ſtill yield that which our faith relies upon to be an infallible Oracle of God, but if a natural Propoſition of that be ſufficient for faith, we have all we contend for. But to

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what purpoſe *the Legend of S.* Photina, *and the diſpute whether ſhe were the* Samaritan *woman*, is here inſerted, is very hard to underſtand, unleſs he thought it the beſt way by any means to eſcape from the buſineſs in hand.

N. 11. Next, he tells us, *what he might anſwer in theſe inſtances, by ſaying with good Divines that all immediate Propounders or Conveyers of Divine Revelation in ſuch particular caſes need not to be infallible.* I am glad to hear of ſuch good Divines among them: only I would know why in theſe particular caſes an infallible propoſition was unneceſſary to faith, if in the general caſe of all Chriſtians it be now become neceſſary?

N. 12. But he ſaith *although infallibility be not neceſſary for young beginners ſeldom moleſted with difficulties againſt faith, yet it is not only convenient but abſolutely neceſſary for others more learned, who often ſtruggle to captivate their underſtanding, when the high myſteries of Chriſtianity are propoſed.* Never was there certainly a more ſenſeleſs anſwer: for *who are moleſted with difficulties againſt faith*, if thoſe who are to be converted to Chriſtianity are not? who have none of the advantages of education to recommend the doctrines of Chriſtianity to their minds, and are filled and prepoſſeſſed with contrary prejudices. Never were there ſuch happy Converters of Infidels as

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the *Jeſuits* are, if they meet with ſuch *Converts* who *are never moleſted with difficulties againſt faith*; only as they grow up, *they begin to grow Infidels again*, and then it is neceſſary to choke them with an *Infallible Church*. I do not at all wonder, that the more learned in the Church of *Rome* ſeeing the weakneſs of the grounds of Faith among them do ſtruggle with themſelves about believing the myſteries of their faith; but I very much wonder if ſo unreaſonable a pretence as that of Infallibility can ever ſatisfie them. I deſire to know of theſe *more learned believers*, whether they believed the Churches Infallibility before thoſe *ſtrugglings* or not? if they did not, how came they to be believers, ſince there can be no divine faith, without an infallible teſtimony? if they did, how came they to queſtion whether they were to believe the particular myſteries of faith, if they did believe the Church Infallible which propoſed them? But I ſuppoſe theſe learned believers, were ſuch as queſtioned the Infallibility of the Church, and Chriſt and his Apoſtles too; of which ſort I doubt not there are many in *Rome* it ſelf.

But yet he hath two other ways to ſolve theſe difficulties. 1. *By Gods ſpecial illumination*; and that I hope, may ſerve all as well as theſe; and then let him ſhew the ne- N. 13.

ceſſity

ceſſity of an infallible Proponent. 2. *That every particular proponent as a member conjoyned with Chriſts infallible Oracle may be ſaid to teach infallibly.* A moſt admirable ſpeculation! and ſo may every one we meet with in the ſtreets, be infallible not as conſidered in himſelf, but *as a member conjoyned with truth:* or every Sectary; *as a member conjoyned with Gods word*, which I hope is an *Oracle*, altogether as infallible as the *Church*. But the queſtion is, whether ſuch a one may be divided from Gods infallible Truth or not? if not, he is abſolutely infallible: if he may; then what ſecurity hath any one to rely upon him upon ſuch a conditional Infallibility, which he can have no aſſurance of?

N. 14. *But ſtill he hopes to retort the Inſtances upon me:* I never ſaw ſuch a way of retorting in my whole life. My deſign was to prove by theſe Inſtances that an infallible Teſtimony of a Church was not neceſſary in order to Faith; he ſaith *I muſt ſolve my own difficulties.* I confeſs I ſee none at all in my way that need to be anſwered; for I aſſert that men may have ſufficient Grounds of Faith without an infallible Proponent. Well, *but he ſuppoſes, all theſe Barbarians converted to Chriſt to have had true Faith and conſequently prudent Motives to believe, before they firmly aſſented to the Divine Revelation.* And

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ſo do I too. But what were theſe motives? *To this Queſtion*, he ſaith, *I return the ſtrangeſt anſwer he ever heard; for I ſeem to make the motives inducing to faith nothing but the Rational evidence of the Truth of the Doctrine delivered and therefore I grievouſly complain that they deſtroy the obligation which ariſeth from the Rational evidence of the Chriſtian Religion*; upon which he diſcourſes, as though by *rational evidence the ſelf-evidencing light of the doctrine, and conſequently all the miracles wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles were to no purpoſe.* Have not I reaſon to applaud my good fortune that I have met with ſo ingenuous an Adverſary? But I ſee thoſe who write Controverſies muſt be true *Nethinims*, not only hewers of difficulties, and drawers of the waters of contention, but bearers of burdens too; even ſuch, as their Adverſaries pleaſe to lay upon them. Could any thing be further from my meaning than by the *rational evidence of Chriſtianity*, to underſtand *the ſelf-evidencing light of the Scriptures?* But it is not what I ſay, but what *E. W.* finds in his *Common-place-Books?* a little before, when I had propoſed an argument he had not met with in thoſe terms, he preſently fancied I meant another argument which he found under the *title* of *Defectibility of the Church*, and then in

comes that with the anſwers he found ready to it. Now for *the rational evidence* of Chriſtian Religion, he finds not that *Head* in his *Note-Books*; and cannot therefore tell what to make of it. But an argument he had ready againſt *the ſelf-evidencing light of the ſcriptures*; and therefore the Seraphims feather muſt ſerve inſtead of St. *Laurence's* Gridiron. He might have been eaſily ſatisfied in that very Paragraph, what I mean by the rational evidence of Chriſtian Religion; *viz.* the unqueſtionable aſſurance which we have of the matters of fact, and the miracles wrought by Chriſt for confirmation of his Doctrine: and this within four lines after the words by him produced. And in the foregoing paragraph, I inſiſt very much on the evidence of ſenſe as to the miracles wrought by Chriſt as a great part of the rational evidence of Chriſtianity, which is deſtroyed by the doctrine of the Roman Church, while tranſubſtantiation is believed in it. For what aſſurance can there be of any object of ſenſe ſuch as the miracles of Chriſt were and his Body after his Reſurrection; if we are ſo framed not only that our ſenſes may be, but we are bound to believe that they are actually deceived in as proper an object of ſenſe as any in the world? And if ſuch a thing may be falſe what evi-

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dence can we have, when any thing is true? For if a thing ſo plain and evident to our ſenſes may be falſe, *viz.* that what I and all other men ſee is bread; what ground of certainty can we have, but that which my ſenſes and all other mens judge to be falſe may be true? For by this means the *criterium* both of ſenſe and reaſon is deſtroyed and conſequently all things are equally true and falſe to us; and then farewel ſenſe and reaſon and Religion together. Theſe things I there largely inſiſt upon; which is all very ſilently paſſed over, the *Schools* having found no anſwers to ſuch arguments; and therefore they muſt be content to be let alone. But however, though arguments cannot be anſwered I deſire they may not be miſ-repreſented; and that when I fully declare what I meanby *rational evidence*, ſuch a ſenſe may not be put upon my words as I never dreamt off.

There is nothing after which looks with the face of an anſwer to the e Inſtances, unleſs it be that he ſaith, *that none can have infallible aſſurance either of our Saviours Miracles, or of any other verity recorded in Scripture, independent of ſome actual living, actual infallible, and moſt clear evidenced Oracle by ſigns above the force of nature, which in this preſent ſtate is the Church.* N. 15. Theſe are good ſayings and they want only

proving; and by the Instances already produced, I have shewed that Persons did believe upon such evidence, as implied no infallible Testimony; and if he goes about to prove the Church infallible by such Miracles wrought by her as were wrought by the Apostles, I desire only not to believe the Church infallible till I be satisfied about these Miracles; but of that afterwards.

But I demanded if we can have no assurance of the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles without an Infallible Church, what obligation can lie upon men to believe them, who see no reason to believe any such Infallibility? And since the Articles of our Faith are built upon matters of fact such as the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, whether these matters of fact may not be conveyed down in as unquestionable a manner as any others are? Cannot we have an unquestionable assurance that there were such persons as *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and that they did such and such things, without some Infallible Testimony? If we may in such things why not in other matters of fact which infinitely more concern the world to know, than whatever *Cæsar* or *Pompey* did? This his Margin calls *an unlearned objection*, and in the body of his *Book*, saith, *I might have proposed a wiser Question*; an easier I grant I might, as appears

N. 20.

pears by the anſwer he gives it. For *two things*, he ſaith, *may be conſidered.* 1. *That the man called Chriſt dyed upon the Croſs*, *and this*, he ſaith, *both Jews and Gentiles yet aſſent to upon Moral Certainty, but therefore do not believe in Chriſt.* 2. *That the man called Chriſt dying for us was the only Meſſias, truly God, the Redeemer of mankind.* Here *we have*, he ſaith, *the hidden verities of Chriſtian Religion, the certain objects of faith, conveyed unto us by no moral aſſurance but only upon Gods Infallible Revelation.* A very wiſe anſwer I muſt needs ſay: if intolerable ſhuffling be any part of wiſdom. Read over my words again, and be aſhamed. *If ſo, then men cannot have any unqueſtionable aſſurance that there was ſuch a Perſon as Chriſt in the world, that he wrought ſuch great miracles for confirmation of his doctrine, that he died and roſe again.* Is all this no more *than the common conſent of Jews, Gentiles and Chriſtians that Chriſt died on a Croſs?* Was ever any man ſo ſenſeleſs as to make only the belief of the death of Chriſt on the Croſs, the reaſon of believing his Divinity? But I ſay his Miracles before and Reſurrection after gave abundant teſtimony that he was ſent from God, and therefore his doctrine muſt needs be true; and when we believe the truth of his doctrine, we

are bound to believe every part of it, such are his being the only Messias, the true God, the Redeemer of mankind, and all other divine verities contained therein. Let the Reader now judge whether the Objection or the Answer savours of more ignorance and folly. But it is the mischief of this School-Divinity, that it adds confidence to Ignorance, and it makes men then most apt to despise others, when they most expose themselves.

Rational Account part 1. c. 5. sect. 9.

I proceeded to shew, that instead of setling faith on a sure foundation by the Churches Infallibility, they bring it to greater uncertainties than it was in before; because they can neither satisfie men what that Church is, which they suppose Infallible, what in that Church is the proper subject of this Infallibility, what kind of Infallibility it is, nor how we should know when the Church doth define Infallibly: and yet, I say, every one of these Questions is absolutely necessary to be resolved in order to the satisfaction of mens minds as to the Foundation of their Faith. His Answer to these Questions refers us *to his proofs of the Roman Churches Infallibility, as the only Society of Christians which hath power to define Infallibly by her representative moral Body*; which when I see proved I shall confess an Answer is given to those Questions. Only one thing he thinks fit to give a more particular

Disc. 3. c. 3. §. 22.

particular Anſwer to; which is, that this Infallibility ſhould be the only Foundation of believing all things in Religion, and yet ſo many things and ſome of them very ſtrange ones muſt be certainly believed before it. Here his common-place-Book again fails him, and therefore wanting his Compaſs he roves and wanders from the point in hand. He tells me *it is hard to gueſs at my meaning, for I name not one article thus aſſented to. Perhaps I would ſay, that the verities revealed in ſome Books of Scripture called Protocanonical known by their own proper ſignitures or motives, as the Harmony, Sanctity, and Majeſty of the Stile, may be believed without this Teſtimony of an Infallible Church.* Well, he doth not know what I meant, but he knew an Argument, he had an Anſwer ready to; and therefore that muſt be my meaning. But are not my words plain enough to any one that reads them? And what a vaſt meaſure of faith, ſay I, is neceſſary to believe the Papal Infallibility; for unleſs a man believes the particular Roman Church to be the Catholick Church, unleſs he believes that Chriſt hath promiſed an infallible aſſiſtance to the Paſtors of the Church, and that not as ſeparate, but as aſſembled in Council; and not in every Council, but ſuch as the Pope calls and preſides in and confirms, he cannot c. 5. n. 1.

believe this Doctrine of Infallibility. Nay further, he must Infallibly believe the Church to be Infallible, though no Infallible Argument be brought for it; that this Church doth judicially and authoritatively pronounce her sentence in matters of Faith though we know not what that Church is which must so pronounce; that he Infallibly know that this particular sentence was so pronounced, though he can have no other than moral means of knowing it; and lastly, that the Infallibility must be the first thing believed, although all these things must be believed before it. Could any man well in his senses after reading these words imagine that I meant *the self evidencing light of the Scriptures* again? But they write for those that believe them, and that never dare look into the Books they pretend to confute.

Yet he hath a mind to prove the name of *Roman Catholick Church* to be no *Bull:* which I said in a *Parenthesis*, was like *German universal Emperour:* This gives a new start, another common-place Head is searched, *Title*, *Catholick Church*, there he finds ready the old weather beaten Testimonies, *Rom.* 1.8. *Your Faith is renowned the whole world over:* ergo *Roman* and *Catholick* are all one. A plain demonstration! What need they talk of the *obscurity of Faith*, where there is such

ſuch convincing evidence? But what if it ſhould have happened that *S. Paul* had ſaid the ſame thing of the Faith of the *Corinthians*, or *Theſſalonians*, would it not have been a moſt evident demonſtration that the Church of *Corinth* was the *Catholick Church* at that time, and was to continue ſo in following Ages? But Scripture though never ſo plain cannot ſerve their turn, they muſt have Fathers too. So *E.W.* brings in *St. Hierom*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Athanaſius*, *St. Ambroſe*, *all evidently proving that the Church of* Rome *was once Catholick*: and what then I beſeech him? Were not other Churches ſo too? But theſe very Teſtimonies, as it unhappily falls out, had been particularly and largely examined by me in a whole Chapter to that purpoſe. But it is no matter for that, I had not blotted them out of his *Note-Books*, and there he found no anſwers, and therefore out they come again. Rational Account part 2. c. 1.

§. 11. 2. The ſecond thing I objected againſt this way of reſolving Faith, was that it did not effect that which it was brought for, for ſuppoſing that Chuch Infallible, and that Infallibility proved by the motives of credibility, they do not eſcape the circle objected against them: Which I ſhewed, 1. from the nature of divine Faith as explained by them. Of the Circle in the Reſolution of Faith, not avoided by *E. W.*

2. From

2. From the consideration of the persons whose Faith was to be resolved. 3. From the nature of that Infallibility which is attributed to the Church. I must now consider how *E. W.* attempts the clearing of these difficulties.

1. As to the nature of divine Faith. I ask whether a divine Faith as to the Churches Infallibility, may be built upon the motives of credibility? If it may, then a divine Faith may rest upon prudential motives, if not, then this way cannot clear them from a circle in the resolution of divine Faith. For I demanded why with a divine Faith they believe the Scriptures to be the Word of God? Their answer is, because the Church which is Infallible delivers them as such to us. If I then ask, why with a divine Faith they believe the Churches Infallibility? I desired them to answer me if they can any other way than because the Scriptures which are Infallible say so. It is a very pleasant thing to see how *E. W.* is miserably put to his shifts about this difficulty, for although in his former Discourses he had pressed the necessity of ***divine Faith*** so much, that from thence he might introduce the necessity of Infallibility; yet he now seems wholly to have forgotten any such distinction, of Faith humane and divine; although he could not but see that the force of

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my Argument did depend upon it. The ſubſtance of his anſwer is, *That the firſt act of Faith whereby we believe the Churches Infallibility relies not on Scripture, but upon the Church it ſelf, as the moſt known manifeſted Oracle.* Be it ſo: but the Queſtion is, whether this firſt act be *divine Faith* or not; if not, it is nothing to the purpoſe, if it be, then divine Faith may want an Infallible Teſtimony: for this firſt act of Faith concerning the Churches Infallibility hath nothing to rely upon, but the fallible motives of credibility, and conſequently *divine Faith* may want an Infallible Teſtimony. And I ſay ſtill let them anſwer this if they can; without apparent ſhuffling and running away from the Queſtion in hand. Diſc. 3. c. 5. n. 5.

2. From the conſideration of the *perſons* whoſe Faith is to be reſolved: for I ſay, 1. The Queſtion is not which way they will prove the Infallibility of their Church againſt thoſe who deny it, but which way they reſolve their own Faith of the Churches Infallibility. 2. In diſputing againſt their Adverſaries they cannot avoid the circle; for while they prove Infallibility from Scripture, the Queſtion ariſes how they come to know Infallibly, that this is the ſenſe of thoſe places? for which they muſt again appeal to the Churches Infallibility in delivering the ſenſe of Scripture;

ture: which if it be not a circle, I say, there is hardly such a figure in Mathematicks.

N. 7. To this he answers. 1. *That they both resolve and prove*; but then if they do resolve their Faith into this Infallibility, it is no sufficient answer to say *they only prove it to Adversaries*: which was all I intended by that first particular. But what answer doth he give to the second concerning *the sense* of Scripture? Here again he makes use of his

N. 8, 9. distinction *of the first and second act of Faith*; *the first* he saith, *is not at all founded upon the sense of Scripture, but upon the Churches own Infallible Testimony made by it self and for it self immediately credible. Now if we speak*, saith he, *of another distinct, consequent, and more explicit act of Faith, when we believe the Churches Infallibility upon this ground, that she declares the Scriptures genuine sense which proves her an Infallible Oracle, there is no difficulty at all, because this very Exposition or Interpretation of Scripture is ultimately resolved into (and therefore again believed upon) the same Infallible Authority of the Church, or rather upon Scripture and the Churches Interpretation together. For thus joyntly taken they ground Faith, and not like two disparate principles, as if we first believed the Scriptures sense independently of the Churches*

Churches Interpretation, and then again believed the Churches interpretation to be Infallible, becauſe the ſenſe of Scripture known aliunde, *or without depending on Church Authority, ſaith ſhe is Infallible; This cannot be if Scripture and the Churches interpretation indiviſibly concur to this latter act of Faith, whereof we now ſpeak. Here then is a Dilemma that clears all and frees us from the leaſt ſhadow of a circle: we either know (or believe) the Scriptures* N. 10. *ſenſe independently of the Churches interpretation, or receive it upon her Infallible Authority; grant the firſt there is no danger of a circle; grant the latter, there are two imaginable propoſitions to make a circle of, whilſt that ſenſe internal to the letter cannot be Infallibly propounded otherwiſe, than by the Church.* I have ſet down theſe words more at large to let the Reader try his faculty upon them; what tolerable ſenſe he can make of them. My objection was plain and eaſie, they offer to prove the Churches Infallibility by Scripture, at leaſt as to the ſecond act of Faith, which is alone pertinent to our purpoſe; I asked what way they come to believe Infallibly themſelves and aſſure others this is the ſenſe of thoſe places; and in this caſe they are forced to return to the Churches Infallibility; judge now, Reader,

der, whether here be not a plain circle because they believe the Church Infallible because the true sense of Scripture saith she is so; and again they believe this to be the Infallible sense of Scripture, because the Infallible Church saith so. No saith *E.W. Here is not the least shadow of a circle.* I would he had told us first what a circle was, and then applyed what he had said to the description given of it. But for all that I can see by his answer he had a mind to amuse his Reader by seeming to say something; but no great matter what. Is not that a circle when the Argument made use of to prove another thing by, must it self be proved by that very thing, which it is made use of to prove? For in this case the mind hath nothing to fix it self upon, and therefore must suspend all assent: which must have some certain foundation to proceed upon, on which it may rest it self. As the will could not love Physick for the sake of health, if it loved health for the sake of Physick, so neither can the understanding assent to one truth for another, if it assent to that other only for the sake of the former. For then the same Proposition would be more certain than the other, as it is the antecedent by which the other is proved; and less certain

Ὁ, ἢ διάλληλος τρόπος συνίσταται ὅταν τὸ ὀφεῖλον τοῦ ζητουμένου πράγματος εἶναι βεβαιωτικὸν, χρείαν ἔχῃ τὸν τοῦ ζητουμένου πίστεως. *Sextus Empir. Pyrrho. hypotyp.* l. 1. c. 15.

tain as it is the conſequent proved by the other as it's antecedent: and ſo in different reſpects would be more and leſs certain than it ſelf. Let us now apply this to our preſent caſe. The thing to be proved is the Churches Infallibility, the Argument to prove it by, is the Infallible ſenſe of Scripture; but if the Infallible ſenſe of Scripture can be proved by nothing but the Churches Infallible interpretation; then it is plain that is aſſumed as an Argument to prove Infallibility by, which cannot be otherwiſe known than by this Infallibility. Now let any man attend to the anſwer he gives: he ſaith, *there is no difficulty at all in believing the Churches Infallibility upon this ground, that ſhe declares the Scriptures genuine ſenſe which proves her an Infallible Oracle.* No difficulty at all! Nay, that is a little ſtrange, that there ſhould be no difficulty at all in believing the Churches Infallibility upon the ſenſe of thoſe Scriptures, whoſe ſenſe could not be infallibly known without the ſuppoſal of that Infallibility, which is to be proved by them. But how comes there to be *no difficulty at all* in this matter? *Becauſe this very Expoſition or Interpretation of Scripture brought to its laſt principle is ultimately reſolved into (and therefore again believed upon) the ſame Infallible Authority of the Church, or rather*

rather upon Scripture and the Churches interpretation together. What a ſtrange thing the difference of mens underſtandings is! That which he thinks makes it *no difficulty at all*, makes it to me the greateſt in the world. For by *the Expoſition or Interpretation* I ſuppoſe he means, *the Infallible ſenſe of Scripture*: and if this be reſolved into and believed upon the ſame *Infallible Authority of the Church*, then I ſtill enquire how this Infallible Authority of the Church comes to be proved by this Expoſition of Scripture the Infallibility of which doth ſuppoſe the thing to be proved, *viz.* the Churches Infallibility. And if the ſenſe internal to the letter cannot be infallibly propounded otherwiſe than by the Church; I would fain know what aſſurance any man can have of this ſenſe but from the belief of this Infallible Interpreter? *But*, ſaith he, *Scripture and the Churches Interpretation indiviſibly concur to this latter act of Faith.* This *indiviſible concurrence*, is to me an odd piece of *myſtical Divinity*: the meaning muſt be (if there be any) that I believe the Church Infallibility by thoſe Scriptures, from the Churches Infallibility appearing in the Infallible ſenſe of thoſe Scriptures. But whence, ſay I, doth this appear to be the Infallible ſenſe of them? For if the ſenſe

of

of any places of Scripture be doubtful, theirs is; ſince their meaning is ſo doubtful, how come men firmly to believe this to be the true and Infallible ſenſe of thoſe places and none elſe? Can men come to an Infallible ſenſe of Scripture, without an Infallible Church? if ſo, what need of any ſuch Infallibility? if not, then the Infallible ſenſe of theſe places cannot be known but from the Churches Infallibility: and therefore the Circle unavoidably follows, *viz.* that they muſt prove the Churches Infallibility by the Infallible ſenſe of Scripture, and the Infallible ſenſe of Scripture by the Churches Infallibility. And any man might eaſily gueſs that *E. W.* was in a Circle by his Conjuring, and ſpeaking things which neither he, nor any one elſe can underſtand.

3. I ſhewed, that they avoided not the circle by this way, from the nature of the *Infallibility*, which they attribute to the Church. Which is not by *an immediate Revelation*, but *but by Divine aſſiſtance promiſed in Scripture*; and therefore the utmoſt the motives of credibility can do in this caſe, is only to notifie or diſtinguiſh the Church; but ſtill the formal reaſon of believing this Infallibility, cannot be from thoſe Motives, but from thoſe pro-

miſes which are ſuppoſed in Scripture to imply it. So that ſtill the circle returns, for they believe the Scriptures Infallible because of the Churches Teſtimony, and the Church Infallible becauſe of the promiſes of Scripture. This he gravely calls, *an unlearned objection.* That is even as it pleaſes him; but I have no reaſon to take him for an Infallible judge of Learning: how ever it is no great matter, learned or unlearned, it is more than he gives any tolerable anſwer to. But I ſee no reaſon why he calls it ſo unleſs it be, becauſe he ſaith *it is in effect the ſame objection repeated again.* And he thinks a man may be allowed to call his Creditor Rogue or Raſcal, that comes a ſecond time, becauſe he could get no good anſwer at firſt. However ſuch is the civility of *E. W.* that he will not ſend it away without a ſufficient anſwer; and yet after all we have nothing for payment but *the firſt general act of Faith*; one would have thought it had been the Act of *Publick Faith*, by the badneſs of the payment. *And this firſt general act of Faith*, he ſaith, *wholly relies upon the Churches own Infallible Teſtimony, without depending on Scripture.* But what is this to that divine Faith we enquire after, and which, he ſaith, muſt reſt upon an Infallible Authority? For ſince

N. 11.

Faith

Faith muſt reſt upon its motives, and thoſe motives are confeſſed to be fallible; this cannot be that aſſent of Faith, which himſelf makes to be neceſſary and we have made appear, notwithſtanding all his ſhuffling, unavoidably brings them into a Circle.

Chap. III.

An Enquiry into the Miracles of the Roman Church.

E. w's Aſſertions about the Miracles of the Roman Church.

§. 1. THE next thing which I objected againſt this way of reſolving faith was that it was notoriouſly falſe, ***viz. that there are the ſame motives of credibility for the Infallibility of the Roman Church, that there were for the Infallibility of*** Moſes ***and the Prophets, or of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.***

Rational Account *Part* 1 *C.* 5. *Sect.* 12.

The natural conſequence I ſaid, of affirming this was, that there is as great danger in not believing the Church of ***Rome*** infallible, as in not believing ***Moſes*** and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles to have been ſent from God. For where there is an equal obligation to believe, there is an equal ſin in not believing; and where the ſin is equal, it ſtands to reaſon that the puniſhment ſhould be ſo too. So that the denial of the Roman Churches Infallibility, muſt be accounted by them

them as high a piece of Infidelity, as calling in Question the Infallibility of Christ himself; or denying the Scriptures. This doth not in the least startle *E. W.* for he boldly asserts, *that there are equal motives of credibility as to their Church and Christ and his Apostles*, he frequently challenges me *to shew the disparity*, nay he puts the whole issue of his cause upon it. As may be seen by these words of his: The main argument of *T. C.* he saith was this. *As Christ and his Apostles proved themselves Oracles sent from God by their Works, signs, and Miracles; again as the Primitive Christians induced by such signs believed Christ and the Apostles upon their own Testimony to be Infallible Teachers; so we having ever had the very like Works, Signs, and Miracles manifest in the Church are prudently induced to believe her as an Infallible Oracle, upon her own Infallible Testimony. To solve this plain and pressing argument* saith E. W. *one of these two things must be done: either a disparity is to be given between those first Signs and Miracles of the Apostles, and the later of the Church, or it must be shewn wherein the Inference made is defective or unconcluding*, viz. *that the Church evidenced by her signs is not proved Gods Infallible Oracle, as the Apostles were proved by their signs, to be Infallible Teachers.* Reason and Religion disc. 3 c. 5. n. 1, 2.

N. 4. Afterward he ſaith, *he hath proved that the Church hath wrought Miracles every way equal with thoſe, which the Apoſtles wrought.* In thoſe Chapters to which he refers us for the proof of this, I find this aſſertion in the beginning. *I ſay firſt, clear and unqueſtionable Miracles of the like quality with thoſe which Chriſt and his Apoſtles wrought, have been ever ſince moſt glorioufly manifeſt in the Roman-Catholick Church, and in no other Society of Chriſtians.* Afterwards, he calls their Miracles, *glorious Miracles ſtanding upon indubitable record*; and for the proof of theſe Miracles he appeals *to the lives of the Saints and certain Church-hiſtory. Beſides the Teſtimonies of ſome Fathers of Miracles done in their time*, not at all to his purpoſe, (as ſhall afterwards appear) *he appeals, to the known Miracles of thoſe two admirable Saints, Bleſſed St.* Dominick *and the Seraphical St.* Francis, *and St.* Vincentius Ferrerius *reported by the pious and learned St.* Antoninus *Arch-Biſhop of* Florence. From whence he infers that *the Miracles wrought in the Roman-Catholick Church, are not inferiour to thoſe done by the Apoſtles*; and a little after, *If the Miracles of Chriſt and the Apoſtles rationally proved againſt Jews and Gentiles the credibility of Apoſtolical Doctrine, the very like ſigns and ſupernatural effects moſt evident*

Diſc. 2. c. 8, 9. c. 8. n. 1.

N. 4.

N. 6.

N. 7.

N. 13.

evident in the Roman-Catholick Church, as rationally prove againſt Sectaries the credibility of our now profeſſed Catholick-Doctrine; for which he gives this reaſon. *The ſame ſigns and marks of Truth when equal in Majeſty, worth, quality and number, ever diſcover to reaſon the ſame Truth: wherefore if the Roman-Catholick Church moſt clearly gives in evidence of her Miracles equal in worth, quality and number with thoſe wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, it follows that as thoſe firſt Apoſtolical wonders were ſufficient to convice Jews and Gentiles of the Truth of Chriſtianity, ſo theſe later alſo wrought in the Church are of like force, and no leſs efficacious to convince Sectaries of whatever Doctrine ſhe teaches. Now ponder well what the Apoſtoles did; they cured the ſick, diſpoſſed Devils, raiſed the dead, converted nations,* &c. *but theſe very Miracles have been done in the Roman-Catholick Church, yea and greater too.* Ergo, *we have the like evidence of Truth in both the Primitive Age and this, conſequently with it the ſame Truth. The ſequel is undeniable.* After this, for particular inſtances, he appeals to *the undeniably authentick monuments and teſtimonies of that one ſacred houſe of* Loreto; *to the continual Miracles done at the Reliques of St.* James *at* Compoſtella *in* Spain, *to the* N. 16.

Sacred Vial of St. Mary Magdalen *in* France, *wherein*, ſaith he very gravely, *the precious blood gathered by that penitent Saint at our Saviours paſſion is yet preſerved, and viſibly boyls up on the very day he ſuffered after the reading of the Paſſion*; *to the undoubted* N. 17. *Miracles wrought by the interceſſion of our Bleſſed Lady at* Montaigu, *for which he calls in the teſtimonies of* Lipſius *and* Putean, and at large relates *a Miracle wrought by* N 18. *St.* Xaverius *upon* F. Marcellus *a Jeſuit at* c. 9. Naples; *and then anſwers ſome few Objections and concludes with the vindication of the Miracle at* Zaragoſa *in* Spain. This is the ſubſtance of *E. W*'s diſcourſe upon this ſubject; which in the proper conſequence of it doth more really enervate the proofs of Chriſtianity, than eſtabliſh the infallibility of the Roman Church. For I do not think an Atheiſt would deſire more advantage againſt the Chriſtian Religion, than to have it granted that the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles were no other than ſuch as are wrought in the Roman Church; and that the proofs of them are no more authentick and undeniable than thoſe of the Miracles done at *Loreto*, *Compoſtella*, or *Montaigu*: and that Chriſt and his Apoſtles gave no more illuſtrious evidences of their being ſent from God than St. *Dominick*, or St. *Francis*; and that there

was

was no greater evidence of Christs Resurrection from the dead than there is of the boyling up of the blood of Christ in the Vial of St. *Mary Magdalen* in the Church of St. *Maximin* in *France*.

Therefore not only to invalidate the Testimony drawn from hence for the Roman Churches Infallibility, but to preserve the honour of Christianity, I am obliged to enquire into these two things.

1. Whether the Testimony upon which the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, and those of the Roman Church are delivered be equally credible?

2. Whether the Miracles of the Roman Church be so equal (to abate him what he saith of *greater*) in worth, quality and number with those of Christ and his Apostles, that the Roman Churches Infallibility is as much attested by them, as Christ and his Apostles was by theirs?

1. I shall enquire into the credibility of the Testimony on both sides. Two things are agreed to make up sufficient credibility in a Testimony; *viz.* the knowledge and fidelity of the persons who deliver it. If they speak nothing but what they were certain witnesses of, and never gave suspicion of fraud and deceit, and offered the highest ways of proof concerning their own fidelity, then it is an unreasonable

reaſonable thing to disbelieve them. This is the caſe of thoſe who recorded our Saviours and his Apoſtles Miracles, they were perſons who either ſaw them wrought themſelves, or had them delivered to them immediately by them who ſaw them; they publiſhed them to the world in that Age wherein they were capable of being diſproved by perſons then living in the ſame places where they were wrought, and were notorious enemies to the perſons who did them, who were concerned to diſcover for their own juſtification the leaſt fraud or impoſture in thoſe matters. But beſides this to take away all ſuſpicion of deſign, the witneſſes of theſe things freely quitted all expectations of worldly advantages, they ran themſelves upon the greateſt hazards to atteſt the truth of what they ſaid, and at laſt ſacrificed their lives to confirm the truth of their own Teſtimony. But on the other ſide if I can prove,

1. That the greateſt number of the Miracles in the Roman Church have been believed upon the credit of Fables and uncertain reports.

2. That the Teſtimony of thoſe who deliver them hath been contradicted by men of greater Authority than themſelves.

3. If upon ſtrict and careful examination notorious forgeries and impoſtures have been diſco-

discovered; and never any persons laid down their lives to attest the truth of any of their Miracles; then it can be nothing but the greatest impudence in any to parallel the Testimony of the Primitive Church concerning the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, with that of the Miracles wrought in the Church of *Rome*.

1. That the greatest number of Miracles in the Roman Church have been believed upon the credit of Fables and uncertain reports. For the proof of this I shall make choice of his own instances of *Loreto* in *Italy*, *Compostella* in *Spain*, St. *Maximins* Church in *France*, and the lives of his two admirable Saints to which I shall add some nearer home that we may have a proof of the credibility of these miracles in the most considerable places of *Europe*.

§. 2. Let us first go on pilgrimage to our *Lady* of *Loreto*, to view the *undeniably Authentick publick monuments and Testimonies of Miracles there wrought*. The first to be seen there, in a Table hanging up for that purpose, is, the wonderful Miracle in the translation of that Chappel first from *Nazareth* to *Dalmatia*, and from *Dalmatia* into those parts of *Italy* where

Of the Miraculous translation of the Chappel of *Loreto*.

where it now ſtands. The ſtory cannot be better told, than it is in the Authentick Table it ſelf: which may be thus Tranſlated.

The Church of our B. Lady of Loreto *was a Chamber of the Houſe of the B. Virgin* Mary *Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt which Houſe ſtood in the country of* Judea, *in a City of* Galilee *whoſe name was* Nazareth; *in which Chamber the B. Virgin* Mary *was born, and bred up, and afterwards there received the ſalutation of the Angel* Gabriel, *and in the ſame Chamber ſhe educated her Son Jeſus Chriſt to the Age of twelve years. After the Aſcention of Chriſt to Heaven the Virgin* Mary *remained upon earth with the Apoſtles and other Diſciples of Chriſt who ſeeing many divine Myſteries performed in the ſaid Chamber, did by the common conſent of them all decree, to make a Church of that Chamber to the honour and memory of the B. Virgin* Mary, *which they did, and the Apoſtles and Diſciples conſecrated that Chamber to be a Church, and there celebrated divine offices, and St.* Luke *the Evangeliſt with his own hands made an Image to the likeneſs of the B. Virgin, which is there to this day. Afterwards that Church was inhabited and honoured with much devotion by the Chriſtian people in thoſe parts in which it ſtood as long as the people remained Chriſtian. But after they*

they renounced the Chriſtian faith and embraced Mahometiſm the Angels of God took away the ſaid Church and carried it into the parts of Sclavonia *and there placed it by a certain Caſtle called* Fiume, *where it met not with that honour which the B. Virgin deſired. Therefore the Angels came and took it from thence and carried it clear over the Sea into the parts of the territory of* Recanati, *and there placed it in a Wood which belonged to a Noble Lady who had the command of the City of* Recanati, *and was Owner of the Wood whoſe name was* Loreta, *and from her the Church took its name of St.* Maria de Loreto. *In that time by reaſon of the great concourſe of all people to that Wood in which the Church remained abundance of robberies and miſchiefs were committed there; and therefore the Angels again took up the Chappel and carried it to a Hill belonging to two Brothers where the Angels ſet it down; theſe Brothers getting a vaſt revenew by the reſort of Pilgrims thither and the oblations by them made, fell to a great diſcord. Upon which the Angels came again and took away the Chappel from that place, and carried it into the High-way; and there placed it where it is now, with many ſigns and innumerable gifts and miracles. Then all the people of* Recanati *went to ſee the Church which ſtood upon*

the

the Earth without any Foundation: and being aſtoniſhed at ſuch a Miracle, and fearing leſt it ſhould come to ruine, they compaſſed it about with a good thick Wall and a ſtrong Foundation as it is ſeen at this day, and yet no one knew, from whence that Church came into thoſe parts, until in A. D. 1290. *the bleſſed Virgin appeared in a Dream to a certain man much devoted to her, to whom ſhe revealed the foregoing things, and he preſently divulged them to certain honeſt men of that Country: who immediately reſolved to know the truth of theſe matters; and therefore determined to ſend ſixteen notable good men to* Nazareth, *to find out the truth of them. Who carried with them the meaſure of the ſaid Church, and there they found exactly the Foundations of it and the juſt meaſure; and to make all ſure, they found it written upon a Wall that ſuch a Church had been there and was gone from thence, and theſe perſons upon their return certified the truth of all theſe things; and from that time it was known that that Chappel was the Chamber of the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and the Chriſtian people ſhewed great devotion towards it: for the bleſſed Virgin there every day, doth infinite Miracles as experience ſhews.*

There was a certain Eremite that was called

Brother

Brother Paul *of the Wood, who dwelt in a ſmall Cottage in that Wood, and every morning went to divine offices in that Chappel, and was a man of a great abſtinence and a holy Life, who ſaid, that ten years before or thereabouts on the day of the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin being the* 8th. *of* September, *two hours before day in a clear Air going out of his Cottage towards the Church he ſaw a light deſcend from Heaven upon the Church twelve foot long, and ſix broad, and when it was upon the Church it vaniſhed; upon which he ſaid it was the bleſſed Virgin, which there appeared on the day of her Nativity, and came to ſee her Feaſt obſerved; but no man ſaw her beſides this Holy man.*

To confirm the Truth and certainty of all theſe things, two honeſt men of this Village reported them ſeveral times to me Teremanus *the Over-ſeer and Governour of the ſaid Church: one of them was called* Paulus Renaldatii, *the other* Francis Prior. *The ſaid* Paul *told me that his Grandfathers Grandfather ſaw when the Angels carried the ſaid Chappel over the Sea and placed it in the Wood, and that he and other perſons oftimes went to the ſaid Chappel. And the ſaid* Francis *oftimes ſaid to me that his Grandfather being one hundred and twenty years old, ſaid that he went often to the ſaid Church*

in

in the Wood. Moreover the said Francis *averred that his Grandfathers Grandfather had a House and dwelt there: and that in his time the Chappel was removed by Angels from the hill of the two Brothers to the Highway.*

Deo gratias.

Imprinted at Venice *by* Benedictus de Bindonis A.D. 1499.

In the *Italian* Copy it is only added, *that this Narration was taken out of an Original Authentick* M.S. *belonging to the said Chappel* March 20. A. D. 1492.

And is not this a very pleasant story to be matched in point of credibility with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles? What do these men think in their hearts of Christian Religion; that dare avouch such ridiculous fictions as these are, and impose them on the credulity of mankind? But we are not to imagine this to be only a *Legend* hung up at *Loreto*, for the comfort of devout Pilgrims; but it is delivered in the same manner, by men who should have had more wit, or more honesty. *Cardinal Baronius* in his Annals, cannot let it escape, but relates the miraculous translation of this Chappel from *Nazareth*

Baron. Annal. Tom. 1. A. 9. n. 1.

Nazareth to *Dalmatia*, from thence to *Loreto* much after the ſame way. All the Argument he brings for the truth of it, *is taken from Gods omnipotency*, as though, as *Iſ. Caſaubon* truly anſwers him, all the Rabbinical and Mahumetan Fables might not be believed on the ſame ground. And he obſerves from ſome of the Fathers, that *Gods omnipotency is the Sanctuary of Hereticks*, whither they betake themſelves when they are baffled with reaſon. But *Baronius* refers us to *Caniſius* for a fuller account of this admirable ſtory; who very wiſely brings the ſtories of the Prophet *Elias*, *Habakkuk*, and *Philip* in the Acts to confirm the truth of this; as though the diſpute were whether God could do it, and not whether the thing were really done? But if we offer to Queſtion whether the holy Angels are ever employed in the carrying Houſes (not on their ſhoulders I ſuppoſe, but their wings) he chokes us preſently, with the *Angels, being ſaid to be miniſtring ſpirits for the heirs of Salvation*; as though it were not poſſible for them to diſcharge that office faithfully; unleſs at ſome time or other, they took away an old Houſe from its Foundations, and mounted it into the Air, and conveyed it above two thouſand miles. Is not this notable ſervice to the heirs of Salvation? The latter writers, ſuch as *Rayn-*

Caſaub. Exercit. 7. ſect. 1.

Caniſ. Hiſt. Deiparæ l. 5. c. 25.

Heb. 1. 14.

Raynald. A.D. 1291. n. 68, 69. Bzov. Anal. ad A. D. 1296. n. 14. Spondan. A.D. 1291. n. 22. Gavan. Chronic. deip. A. D. 1298. Turſellin. Hiſt. Lauret. l. 1. c. 6.

niddus, *Bzovius*, *Spondanus*, and *Benedictus Gononus* refer us to *Horatius Turſellinus* as the moſt Authentick Hiſtorian of this ſtupendous Miracle: and his Book was not only approved by the General of his order, but hath a Bull of *Clement* 8. prefixed before it. The ſubſtance of his ſtory is the very ſame with the Table of *Tiremanus*, only inlarged with ſome more improbable circumſtances, as that the Trees made lowly reverences and bowed themſelves to the Chappel in its paſſage; (but it ſeems they bowed ſo low that they could never recover themſelves after; being I ſuppoſe of great Age when they made this obeyſance) that, when the new Wall was built for the ſupport of the Chappel; the Walls of it would not endure the others being too near, but made the new Wall by

c. 16. degrees know its due diſtance, ſo that at laſt a Boy might be put in between them: that the Image of our Saviour being taken out to be ſet in a more conſpicuous place, it went of its own accord into the Chappel again, ſo that after ſeveral attempts they were fain to give over their deſign. I confeſs theſe circumſtances do not tend much to the making the ſtory it ſelf more credible; but what Authority hath *Turſellinus* found out for ſo ſtrange a Miracle? He often quotes *Hieronymus Angelita*, but he writ in *Clement* the ſeventhe

venths time, and dedicated his Hiſtory of that Chappel to him; but the main prop of all this ſtory is the Tradition of *Loreto*, and the *Table* of *Teremanus*, whom he highly commends for his integrity and prudence, who was Governour of the Chappel in the time of *Pius* 2. about the year 1460. and to his Teſtimonies *Turſellinus* appeals for proof of the matter of fact. And was ever ſo great a Miracle better atteſted than this? We will out of meer kindneſs, ſet aſide the Teſtimony from Viſions and Dreams; but then could we imagine any thing leſs than that ſome perſons of credit who had ſeen the Chappel in its march over the Sea, were reſolved to obſerve, where ſuch *a Chappel in the Air* would at laſt fix it ſelf; or that ſome that ſaw it pitched upon the ground without any Foundations, ſhould preſently fill the Country with the noiſe of it, as ſuch ſtrange things are very apt to do; and that ſuch witneſſes being ſtrictly examined ſhould have left a depoſition written by them for the ſatisfaction of future Ages. In ſtead of which we have two plain Countrymen brought in to give teſtimony to a thing done in the time of their Grandfathers Grandfathers: neither do they both give teſtimony to the ſame thing; but one of them ſaith, *his Grandfathers Grandfather* (not *his Grandfather* as *Turſellinus* hath it) ſaw the Chappel, while it was in the Air carried by Angels over c. 28.

the Sea. Is not this a ſubſtantial witneſs, that atteſts what his Grandfathers Grandfather ſaw, without any other evidence of it, than that he heard ſo? *Turſellinus* ſaith, *that it was not only to* Teremanus *that they atteſted this by word*, but *they did ſwear to it*: which adds very much to their credit conſidering the nature of their Teſtimony; but methinks *Teremanus* himſelf ſhould not have forgotten that. All the force of this Teſtimony lies upon one man, who is reported by his great Grandchild to have ſeen the Chappel carryed by Angels over the Sea. But ſuppoſe he did ſee ſomething moving upon the Sea, while he was cutting Wood, or feeding his Cattle in the fields of *la Marca di Ancona*; was he ſure it was the Chappel of *Loreto*: did he ſee the Angels carrying it? might not a plain Countryman miſtake a little about the colour and ſhape of Angels? might not a Ship under ſail in the Adriatick Gulf be taken by ſuch a man for a Houſe carryed by Angels with white Wings? are ſuch Miracles ſo little regarded by the people of *Italy*, that no proof could be produced for it, but what two Affidavit-men ſaid, that they had heard what their Anceſtors almoſt two hundred years before had ſeen or heard? Is it poſſible the memory of ſuch a Miracle ſhould be ſo near being quite loſt? were there no Writers in that Age to record it and

take

take notice of it? Is it credible ſo great a Miracle ſhould happen in thoſe days and neither *Dantes* nor *Petrarch*, nor *Boccace* take the leaſt notice of it, although they were all *Italians*, and inquiſitive men, and had ſufficient occaſion in their Writings to mention it? But ſuppoſe, theſe men were not apt to believe ſuch things; what ſhall we ſay to *St. Antonin* of *Florence*, whom *E. W.* calls *a pious and Learned man*, who hath written ſuch a Rapſody of all ſorts of Miracles, and lived a good while after this miraculous tranſlation and yet takes not the leaſt notice of it? What ſhall we ſay *to that admirable Saint*, St. *Vincentius Ferrerius*, as *E. W.* calls him, who lived after A. D. 1440. who ſaith, *that the Chamber of our Lady was ſtill in* Nazareth? And although the former are negative Teſtimonies, yet they cannot be rejected by ſuch who make uſe of the ſame kind of Teſtimonies to caſt off a matter of fact atteſted by much better Authors than *Paulus Renaldatii*, *Franciſcus Prior*, or *Petrus Georgius Teremanus*. And that is in the ſtory of Pope *Joan*, wherein *Baronius* ſaith, *That the ſilence of ſo long time after it, wherein there was a juſt occaſion to mention it was more than a thouſand witneſſes to prove the falſity of it.* And if ſilence be a thouſand witneſſes on their ſide, I hope it may be at leaſt five hun-

Vincent. Inſtrm. de aſſump. B. V.

Baron. Annal. A. D. 853. n. 65.

dred on ours. But *Turſellinus* offers to bring all the Teſtimonies which were to be had; the firſt, is *Blondus* who was Secretary to *Eugenius* the 4th. about the year 1450. a good competent time after the Miracle was ſaid to be wrought. Yet all that *Blondus* ſaith is only, *that there was a famous Chappel of our Lady at* Loreto, *as appeared by the many oblations there made*, but not one word of the miraculous tranſlation. The Poet *Mantuan* ſaith, *he read the Table hanging up in the Chappel*; and no wonder if he found the ſtory fit for a Poets brain to work upon. *Leander Albertus* ſpeaks home, but he comes much too late to give any Teſtimony, having publiſhed his deſcription of *Italy* A.D. 1550. But *Leander* ſeems to rely moſt upon the Miracles there wrought as an evidence of the Chappels miraculous tranſlation; and the proof of thoſe Miracles depends upon the *Tables* hung up in the Chappel; which I ſuppoſe are *E. W's. undeniable and Authentick Teſtimonies*

Turſel. Hiſt. Lauret. l. 1 c. 23.

Blondi Italia illuſtr. in Piceno p. 339.

Leand. Albert. in Picen. p. 428.

Of the Miracles wrought at the Chappel of *Loreto.*

§. 3. Therefore inſtead of purſuing farther this incredible fiction of the Tranſlation of this Chappel from *Nazareth* to *Dalmatia* and ſo to *Loreto*, by any ſcrupulous enquiries, how ſuch a Chamber or part of a Houſe ſhould be able to hold for above one thouſand

ſix

six hundred years without decay: how at *Nazareth* it should escape being destroyed when *Josephus* and *Dion* say all the Country thereabout was burnt and destroyed by the *Romans*, fifty Castles and nine hundred eighty five Towns being consumed by *Trajan* after the strange devastation made by *Vespasian*? How the *Church* of the *Annunciation* at *Nazareth* should be removed to *Italy* and yet remain still at *Nazareth* by the constant Tradition of the Eastern parts? How the measure should be found exactly agreeing by those sent to examine it, when *Thomas de Novaria* saith, that he lately found out the only true Foundations larger than the Angels Chappel there built? These and several other scruples I shall now let alone; and consider the other *undeniably authentick monuments and testimonies of this sacred House of* Loreto. *Turſellinus* mentions one which he saith, *is so well attested that it is a sin to doubt of it*: and is very well worth our reading that we may see what rare stories *are paralled'd with the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.*

Joseph de bello Jud. l. 7. Dion in vit. Trajani

Quaresm. Elucid. terræ S. l. 7. c. 5.

Turſell. Hiſt. Lauret. l. 2. c. 18.

A certain Priest of Dalmatia *being hugely devoted to the blessed Virgin of* Loreto, *was taken Prisoner by the Turks, who would have forced him to renounce his Religion, which he would by no means hear of, but still called upon Christ and* Mary; *they being*

enraged at him asked of him what he meant to use those names so much; he told them they stuck to his very entrails; upon which they threatened that they would pull out his entrails if he did not immediately curse them both. Which they resolving to do, the poor Priest made a vow to the blessed Virgin of Loreto, *that if he lived he would go in Pilgrimage thither. At which they being more enraged cut open his breast and pulled out all his entrails, and gave them into his hand being now ready to sink, and bid him go and carry them to the Lady of* Loreto. *The Priest presently goes on his way, and after many days journey, comes safe to* Loreto, *having his entrails in his hand. Whereever he came great flocking of people there was about him,* (as we may easily imagine) *and to our Ladies servants here he shews his naked breast, and his entrails taken out; and after having offered up his devotions to the blessed Virgin, in the sight and embraces of her he breathed his last.* Is not this a swinging Miracle; and deserving credit beyond those of Christ and his Apostles? To ask how a man could breath without his Lungs, or live without a Heart, or by what vessels the circulation of blood was then performed? or any such untoward questions, were but to gratifie carnal reason too much, where nothing is required but

but meer Faith. And ſuch men have certainly great ſtore of that or rather of folly and impudence, that can dare to call theſe *Legends* by the name of *Authentick monuments or undeniable Teſtimonies*. This is a very hopeful beginning in the ſearch into *theſe Monuments*; but I have ſeveral things further to object, againſt this way of proving Miracles by *Tables* that are hung up in ſuch places as the *Chappel* of *Loreto* is.

1. That any extraordinary accident that befalls a perſon, if he either chanced to think upon the *bleſſed Virgin* of *Loreto*, or pray to her, or at leaſt tell thoſe ſo, who are concerned to have it believed, this immediately paſſes for a Miracle. There are very few perſons in the world but at ſometime or other of their lives do meet with extraordinary deliverances, either from diſeaſes, or other dangers. If any of theſe, had lived in thoſe parts and had been poſſeſſed with the ſame ſuperſtitious follies, immediately any ſuch paſſage of their lives, if they had gone to *Loreto* after it and there acquainted the *Pœnitentiary* or *Confeſſor* with it, it had been entred into the *Tables*, and had been preſerved (as a Tooth-drawer doth Teeth) for the reputation of the place. The far greateſt part of the Miracles mention'd by *Turſellinus* are of this kind. The firſt Miracle, by his own

own confeſſion which brought the Church of *Loreto* into reputation was the cure of *Pius* the ſecond who being troubled with the Gout, and a Fever, and a Cough, prayed to the Lady of *Loreto* for his recovery, (not meerly to go to *Ancona*, but as the inſcription expreſſeth it on the Cup he ſent to *Loreto*, that he might be freed from his diſeaſes and recover ſound health) and *Turſellinus* tells us, *That he did not fail of his hope in any part; for immediately*, ſaith he, *his Feaver went off, his Cough left him and his Limbs recovered ſtrength; and away he goes for* Ancona *and there dies of his Feaver and Conſumption.* Call you this a Miracle? I know not what kind of Miracles the Lady of *Loreto* works; I am ſure Chriſt and his Apoſtles never wrought ſuch. We uſe to ſay that a Miracle is *a perfect work*; and is dying of a diſeaſe a miraculous cure? *Platina* and *Ciacconius* in his life take no notice of a cure, much leſs of a Miracle, but ſay that upon ſome intermiſſion he undertook his journey where he dyed of his diſeaſe. Yet *Turſellinus* ſaith, *The fame of this cure brought great reputation to the Lady of* Loreto: which till that time (*viz.* for one hundred and ſixty years after the miraculous Tranſlation) was known only among the inhabitants of the Country about *Ancona*; and ſcarce the leaſt knowledge

Turſill. Hiſt. Lauret l. 1. c. 26.

knowledge of it was passed into the neighbour Countries, which is the reason he gives why *Vincentius*, *Antoninus*, and the *Italian writers* take no notice of it: and those who did, as *Blondus*, yet *do not mention the Translation, lest they should seem to utter vain and incredible things.* A very substantial reason I confess. But after this time Miracles grew more frequent, as the superstition and credulity of people did increase. If a man recovered of a dangerous sickness, if *Julius* the second escape being shot by a Cannon bullet, if *Clement* the seventh escape with his life in the sacking of *Rome*, if others are delivered from great dangers either by Sea or Land, in what way or kind so ever it be, if they do but send or go to *Loreto* afterwards, all these are there recorded for Miracles. l. 2. c. 2. c. 12, c. 24, c. 27. l. 3. c. 15 16, 17, 18, 24. 26. 27. l. 4, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19, &c.

2. That this way of Testimony is liable to the greatest exceptions. For, the Priests who make these *Tables* are easily abused by the confident affirmation of persons who come and tell them great stories of Miracles wrought at the invocation of the *Lady* of *Loreto*; as in all likelihood *Riera* the Pœnitentiary of *Loreto* was, by many who came to him, who were persons of no reputation at all. As the *Jew* that told the formal story, *of his being delivered at* Nazareth *out of prison, by calling upon his Countrywoman,* Tursell. l. 4. c. 12.

the

the Lady of Loreto; *who thereupon appeared to him with her woman called* Lucia *waiting upon her, (whom she bid to knock off his chains,) and opened the prison doors and led him to the Sea side, and shewed him a Ship ready for his passage, and bid him make hast to* Loreto *and be there baptized.* And we may think he obeyed her will, for he told *Riera*, that he came to *Ancona* in two days. Yet this man was received with great joy and the Miracle highly magnified; and which was more, for all that we can find, verily be-
l. 3. c. 28. lieved. And no doubt the *Venetian Courtesan* was a person of great credit, who having spent many years in that Trade, came to *Loreto* full of a very strange Miracle, *viz. That she was set upon in her way thither by her companion, who desperately wounded her in many places and cut her throat; and she just in the very nick of expiring called upon the Lady of* Loreto *for help; who presently appeared to her and took her in her lap and stroked her wounds and immediately cured her body, and filled her soul with heavenly Joy.* Was not the blessed Virgin very kind to a Courtesan? But all this was presently believed at *Loreto*; and as an impregnable evidence of the Truth of it, she shewed a *shining list about her neck upon the skin*; which was a demonstration she was healed by

by a divine hand. For St. *Winifred* and others had juſt ſuch a one when their heads were joyned to their bodies again. And are not theſe *Authentick Teſtimonies and undeniable Monuments?* Is the Teſtimony of the whole Chriſtian Church to be compared to that of a Jew and a Courteſan? But ſuppoſing the perſons who delivered theſe things to them were ſuch as had a great credit; (and ſo they had need to be when the reputation of a Miracle depends upon their ſingle Teſtimony,) yet is it not poſſible to ſuppoſe that the Prieſts for the reputation of their Houſe, may help out a lame Miracle with an advantagious circumſtance or two? it being for ſo good a Cauſe as the honour of their Church. Eſpecially when ſuch infinite riches come by it, as may be ſeen by *Turſellinus* his Hiſtory of the *Lady* of *Loreto*; whoſe Book is made up of Miracles and Riches: and in truth the greateſt Miracle there is the riches of that Chappel ſince it gained reputation in the World. They had need of a very untainted credit, to have their Teſtimony taken on their bare words, when there is ſuch a reward for Lying. Men need not ask *Caſſius* his Queſtion *cui bono?* For any one may eaſily diſcern that, that compares the Tables of Miracles and the vaſt riches accruing by them together. The honeſt Heathens thought

a perſons

a perſons Teſtimony was then to be relyed upon; when there was no reward for falſehood.

Cum ſunt præmia falſi
Nulla, ratam debet teſtis habere fidem.

Tacitus thought, it was a good argument of mens fidelity, if they affirmed a thing *poſtquam nullum mendacio pretium*; when there was no advantage to be got by it. But I am ſure this can never hold in theſe *Authentick Teſtimonies* of the Miracles of the Roman Church; Rich Jewels, Silver ſhrines, preſents of all ſorts, and vaſt endowments may tempt men to ſtrain a little in ſuch trifles, as a few circumſtances, which can eaſily change an ordinary accident into a Miracle. Nay perſons of great honour and reputation, (beyond ten thouſand ſuch Prieſts whoſe intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the belief of theſe things,) have affirmed that they have ſeen Tables hanging up in one of the Churches mentioned by *E. W.* of a miraculous cure wrought upon a lame perſon, whom themſelves have ſeen immediately after, ſo lame as to uſe crutches. Therefore I hope ſuch Teſtimonies as theſe, for meer ſhame, will never more be compared with the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: who had no *Diana's*

to attend upon, nor expected *any ſilver ſhrines*. Not that I compare the bleſſed Virgin to a Heathen Goddeſs, but I may ſafely enough, the nature and reward of the attendance on both, and the means to draw riches to their Temples. Can any one imagine if all the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles had been done in this manner, and the Teſtimony of them only taken from *Tables hanging upon Walls*, that ever Chriſtianity would have prevailed upon the ingenuous part of mankind? No, it was becauſe theſe Miracles were wrought publickly by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the view of enemies; and they who atteſted them did not fit to receive preſents and tell tales, but ventured their lives as well as fortunes, to give teſtimony to the truth of theſe things; and offered as much ſatisfaction as ſenſe and reaſon could require in theſe matters. But if they had nothing to ſhew but Tables hanging upon the Walls of their Temples; the Heathens would have told them, they had as good evidence for Miracles among them. For

3. Such *Authentick Teſtimonies* as theſe have been among the greateſt enemies to Chriſtianity. And I hope *E. W.* will not ſay that Chriſtianity hath no better proofs than Paganiſm. If we ſearch but a little into the practices of this nature among the Heathens,

Polyd. Virgil de Invent. rer. l. 5. c 1. thens, we ſhall find that *Polydore Virgil* had reaſon of his ſide, when he ſaid this cuſtom of hanging up Tables, was taken from them: among whom nothing was more uſual than upon any extraordinary deliverance to ſet up their *votivæ tabulæ* in the Temples of thoſe Gods they were moſt addicted to: ſome to *Iſis*, ſome to *Neptune*, ſome to *Æſculapius*, eſpecially in the caſe of eſcape from Shipwrack to *Iſis* and *Neptune*; and in caſe of recovery from dangerous diſeaſes to *Iſis* or *Æſculapius*. *Lambin* ſaith, *the very ſame cuſtom continues ſtill, only inſtead of the Heathen Gods they do it to the Virgin* Mary *or ſome Saint.* This cuſtom is mentioned not only by *Horace*, but by *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Tibullus*, *Juvenal*, *Perſius*, and others. And all know the ſaying of *Dionyſius* upon ſeeing theſe Tables of thoſe who had made vows and eſcaped; *but what is become* ſaith he, *of thoſe who made vows and were drowned?* And the very ſame Queſtion may be asked of theſe modern vows as well as theirs. I ſhall only mention the Tables of thoſe who had, as they thought, miraculous deliverances from ſickneſſes; of which kind there are ſo many in the *Tables* of *Loreto* and elſewhere. It is a remarkable teſtimony to this purpoſe which *Diodorus Siculus* gives of *Iſis* in *Egypt*: where he ſaith of her, *That being now advanced*

Lambin in Horat. l. 1. Od. 5.

Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

Diodor. Sicul. Hiſt. l. 1. p. 22.

vanced to immortality, ſhe takes great delight in the cure of men; and that to any who desire her help ſhe manifeſts her preſence to them in ſleep (as it is in very many of thoſe of *Loreto*) *and her great readineſs to help them. For the proof of which they do not bring Fables as the* Greeks *do; but the evidence of matters of fact; or undeniable authentick Teſtimonies. For the whole World bears witneſs to it by the honors they give her, and the preſents they ſend for the cures they have received. For many have been ſtrangely cured by her help, who have been given over by Phyſitians, and and many blind and lame have been healed by her.* Let *E. W.* produce more *Authentick Teſtimonies* than theſe are: if he thinks ſo much credit to be given to theſe Tables, or any Argument can be drawn from a Catholick reputation, or great preſents. Neither was this only in *Egypt*, but *Tibullus* mentions the ſame at *Rome* too ſpeaking of *Iſis*.

Nunc Dea nunc ſuccurre mihi, nam poſſe mederi *Tibull. l. 1. Eleg. 3.*
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.

The ſame may be ſeen in the *Temples* of *Æſculapius*, eſpecially that of *Epidaurus*, of which *Strabo* ſpeaks, and ſaith, *It was full of the Tables of ſuch as had recovered from* *Strabo. Geogr. l. 8.*

 diſeaſes

diſeaſes by his help, as likewiſe were his Temples at Co *and* Tricca. The like may be obſerved of the Temple of *Æſculapius* near *Rome* in the *Iſle* of *Tyber*, of which ſome of the *Tables* have been preſerved in *Rome* by the *Maphæi* and are publiſhed by *Mercurialis*. And *Cicero* ſpeaking of an Image of *Ceres* at *Enna* in *Sicily*; ſaith, *That many prodigies were done by her, which ſhewed her power and Divinity; that in many moſt difficult caſes perſons have found her help; and not only the* Sicilians *but other Nations flock th ther:* And that the *Statue* of *Hercules was in ſo great eſteem there that his very Chin was worn, with the ſalutations which were given him*; To the ſame purpoſe as *Turſellinus* ſomewhere ſpeaks of the Image at *Loreto*. So that the Arguments drawn from the *Tables*, from general reputation, and the concourſe of people will equally hold for a Religion directly oppoſite to Chriſtianity. But *we have not followed any cunningly deviſed Fables*, the proofs of our Religion do not depend upon the fraud of Prieſts, or the ſuperſtition and credulity of the people, nor upon any extraordinary accidents and rare occurrences; but the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles were publick and frequent, wrought by their own words while they were converſant among men; not at Shrines or Altars, or in dark and

Mercur. de arte Gymnaſt. l. 1. c. 1.

Cicer. act. 6. in verr.

andobſcure places, and only among perſons prepoſſeſſed before hand with ſufficient readineſs to believe what ever ſhall be related as a Miracle. Theſe are the circumſtances of the Miracles wrought in the Roman Church, but as vaſtly different from thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as light is from darkneſs, or Truth from uncertain reports, or a well grounded Faith from ſuperſtitious credulity. And thus much for *the Authentick Teſtimonies of Miracles in the ſacred Houſe of* Loreto.

§. 4. Having performed one *Pilgrimage*, we muſt begin another to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*: and there take notice of the Miracles done at his *Relicks* there. But what if St. *James* have no *Relicks* at all there? What if he never were in *Spain*, how can his *Relicks* there ever then perform any Miracles? But what ever we believe, it is infidelity in *Spain* to queſtion it; it is fit therefore we ſhould have the ſtory as they relate it, who think they ſhould know it beſt: and it is this, *That* James *the Son of* Zebedee *having paſſed through* Judea *and* Samaria *came into* Spain *to Preach the Goſpel, and having converted ſome there, he returned to* Hieruſalem *carrying his Diſciples with him; where he was ſlain by* Agrippa, *and his Body afterwards*

Of the Miracles wrought by S. *James* at *Compoſtella*.

was carried to Compoſtella *where it is ſolemnly worſhipped by Pilgrims flocking thither from all parts of the World.* This is the ſubſtance of what the preſent *Roman Breviary* allows; and is truly more kind to the ſtory than it hath been formerly; for I am much miſtaken, if *Clement* the 8th. did not inſert into his *Breviary*, *That he came into* Spain *according to the Tradition of that Province.* For we muſt know the *Court* of *Rome* hath been very jealous of ſuch pretences as thoſe are of receiving the Faith at firſt from any of the Apoſtles, beſides St. *Peter* or thoſe ſent by him, leſt under ſuch a pretence they might one time or other plead for their exemption from the Popes Authority. This made *Cardinal Baronius* ſo much to ſet himſelf againſt this tradition of St. *James* his Preaching in *Spain*; and diſproves it from the Teſtimony of *Rodericus Ximenius Archbiſhop of Toledo*, who in the *Lateran Council* under *Innocent* the third, denied that ever St. *James* came into *Spain*, and that not unadviſedly; but in a ſolemn debate between him and the *Biſhop* of *Compoſtella*. He confeſſes indeed that when he was a Boy he heard the ſtory of it, but it was only from *ſome Religious women* ſaith *Baronius*, *ſome Nuns and Reltgious Widows*, ſaith *Rodericus* himſelf; but as *Baronius* obſerves, he did not think it worth

Baron. An. A D. 816. *n.* 49, 50, 51.

Concil. Gen. Tom. 11. part 1. p. 236.

worth inſerting into his Hiſtory; and the *Biſhop* of *Compoſtella* could not produce one ancient Author for that tradition, though he came provided to the Council for the managing this debate. Beſides, he ſaith, that the Church of *Compoſtella* could then boaſt but of the antiquity of one hundred and nine years, (one hundred wanting nine ſaith *Baronius*) for then *Pope Caliſtus* tranſlated the *Biſhoprick* of *Merida* to *Compoſtella*, before which there was only a ſmall Oratory there. To this teſtimony he adds two Popes *Innocent* the firſt, and *Gregory* the ſeventh affirming that *Spain* firſt received the Faith from *Rome*. But the preſent *Breviary* hath excellently accommodated this difference; by making *ſeven of St.* James *his Diſciples to be ordained by St.* Peter *at* Rome *and thence ſent into* Spain. This it is to ſerve a turn, though it be without the leaſt pretence from Antiquity! But now is not this tradition of St. *James* his being in *Spain* confirmed by *undeniable and Authentick Teſtimonies?*

What ſhall we ſay then to the *Miracles* wrought by him? For we are to conſider although the ſtory be ſo lean and bare in the preſent *Breviary*, yet *the learned and worthy Arch-biſhop St.* Antonin (beſides others) have it much improved. For he tells us, *how St.* James *after his return to* Judea, *was much* *Antonin. Chron. part 1. c. 7. Tit. 6.*

oppoſed by Hermogenes *a Magician who ſent his Diſciple* Philetus *to confound him:* (we muſt never ask from whence they had this ſtory it is fully enough that the name of *Hermogenes* and *Philetus* are in the New Teſtament.) Well, *Philetus becomes a Diſciple of St.* James, *at which* Hermogenes *was ſo enraged that he enchanted him ſo that he could not move. Now we will ſee*, ſaith he, *if St.* James *can releaſe you.* Philetus *ſends word to St.* James, *who ſent him his handkerchief and by that was releaſed.* Hermogenes *commands the Devils to bring St.* James *and* Philetus *both bound to him; when they came near him the Devils cryed out they were bound by Angels of Heaven and beg'd St.* James *to releaſe them; he did ſo, and commanded them to bring* Hermogenes *bound, which they immediately did with his hands tyed behind him; and then St.* James *bid* Philetus *unbind him; at which* Hermogenes *was deſirous to turn Chriſtian; but being afraid of the Devils he craved S.* James *his aſſiſtance, who lent him his walking ſtaff; and ſo he became his Diſciple.* Is not this now like one of the Apoſtles Miracles to give men inſtruments for the cudgelling of Devils? But this Miracle for all that, haſtened St. *James* his end; *for Abiathar the High-Prieſt* (where are we now? For I remember

member no *Abiathar* High Prieſt ſince the days of King *Solomon*; but it is no matter for ſuch a ſlender miſtake as that:) *raiſed a commotion among the people, and brought him to* Herod *who beheaded him, upon the day in which Chriſt was incarnated and ſuffered, one whole year being paſſed.* That's well again; it ſeems St. *James* in a years time, preached through *Judea* and *Samaria*, and went into *Spain* and returned to *Judea* and was there beheaded by *Herod.* But St. *James* ſuffered the ſame year, that St. *Peter* was delivered out of Priſon, which by the conſent of their own Writers, was not till the ſecond year of *Claudius.* A pretty long year from the eighteenth of *Tiberius* according to *Baronius*, to the ſecond of *Claudius!* To paſs by *Joſias the Scribes ſuffering together with St.* James; (which the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, by reaſon of the inſufficiency of Scripture, take no notice of) we are to underſtand, *that the Diſciples of St.* James, (being then ſo much at leiſure to attend the Corpſe of their Maſter ſo long a journey) *took away his body and carried it to the Sea-ſide where they found a ſmall Veſſel lying ready* (no matter to whom it belonged) *into this they entred and committing themſelves to Gods providence and the mercy of the Sea; they came ſafe to the Coaſt*

of Spain, *and entring the City of* Gompoſtella *they there buried his body in a Church erected to his honour* (no matter by whom for all St. *James* his Diſciples went away with him.) yet this was not eaſily performed, for *there was one Queen* Lupa *in the Country at that time*; (how a *Queen* in a Roman Province! but doubtleſs ſhe was ſome Roman Lady, for I think *Romulus* his Nurſe was of that name.) *And there were miracles to be wrought to convince her to give way to his burial.* Here St. *Antonin* gives over; but others are ſo kind as to tell us what the miracle was which convinced *Queen Lupa*: I ſhall not ſo much as once mention the author of the *Golden Legend* (though a perſon that highly merited of the Church of *Rome* in his time:) having ſo much better Authorities. No leſs a man than *John Beleth* (a grave Doctor of the *Sorbon*, a man of great learning ſaith *Trithemius*, and excellent at confounding Hereticks ſaith *Laurimanus*) who gives this account of it, *that Queen* Lupa *caſt theſe men into priſon, but being miraculouſly delivered thence ſhe propoſed this condition to them; that if they would take ſuch Oxen as ſhe ſhould give them, they ſhould carry the body whether they pleaſed. But ſhe deſigned only to put a trick upon them, the Oxen being very wild and unruly; but ſhe*

Beleth *de divinis officiis* c. 140.

she was over-reached in all her cunning, for they only made the sign of the Cross over the Oxen and they were as quiet as Lambs: and they carried the body to the place appointed, and without any driver went back to the Queens Palace and staid not till they came to the very middle of it; at which miracle Queen Lupa *was turned into a Lamb and turned her Palace into a Church.* Is not this now a miracle as great and as well attested, as any wrought by Christ or his Apostles? The first part of this story about *Hermogenes* and *Abiather* the *High-Priest*, was solemnly read here in England on the twenty fifth of *July* as part of the lessons of the day: and the later confirmed by *Vincentius* in his history. *Bivarius* cites about twenty Spanish *Breviaries* that mention St. *James* his coming into *Spain*; but whether with the relation of these miracles I know not. *Mariana* in his history, finds no argument for his coming into *Spain* but the tradition of the people, which he was unwilling to contradict. It's true, in a discourse on purpose he goes about to defend this tradition, as well as he could; but yet confesses there is a wonderful silence in all ancient Writers about St. *James* his coming into *Spain*, and his bodie being at *Compostella*; both in the *Chronicon Alveldense* above 600. years old, in the *Chronicon* of *Alphonsus* the

Portiforium *secundum usum sacrum* Julii 25.

Vincent. *spec. histor. l.* 8. *c.* 7.

Bivarii *Comment. in Dextri Chronic.* A. D. 36.

Mariana *de rebus Hisp. l.* 4. *c.* 6.

Mariana *de Adventu* Jacobi *c.* 3.

the great above 700. years old; in *Isidorus Pacensis*, *Sampirus Asturicensis*, nay in the ancient history of *Compostella* it self, there is not a word of St. *James* his coming into *Spain*: in his answer to this argument he confesses *they have no histories come near that time, and therefore it is no wonder they should not mention it*; but upon what grounds came it afterwards to be believed then, if they have no testimony of ancient time to confirm it? For *Baronius* lays down an excellent rule as to these matters; *whatever is delivered by later Authors concerning matters of Antiquity, and is not confirmed by the Authority of some ancient Writer is contemned.* And by this rule in all these matters, let us stand or fall. *But supposing St.* James *never were in* Spain, *yet his Reliques might be carried thither, and work miracles there?* No one questions the possibility of the thing, but the reason of believing it, and we have hitherto seen very little for one or the other. *Baronius*, whose zeal carried him no farther than the Popes interest, is willing enough to allow them the *Body* of St. *James* at *Compostella*: and that it was carried from *Jerusalem* thither, but yet, he saith, *the memory of it was quite lost, as he proves by* Venantius Fortunatus: till *at last it was discovered by a miraculous light in the time of* Alphonsus Castus.

Baron Annal. n. 12.

Baron. Annal. A. D. 816. n. 52, 53.

Caſtus. But what was diſcovered by that light? a Body buried among buſhes and thorns? and what then? muſt this needs be St. *James* his Body and none elſe? What characters were there upon it, which might diſcover it more plainly than the light did? No inſcription on it is alledged; but after all *Baronius* thinks, *there is no need to prove that which is ſo abundantly atteſted by the miracles there wrought.* Proceed we then to the examination of theſe miracles, of which *Pope Calliſtus* the ſecond wrote a whole Book, which *Mariana* ſaith *he ſaw entire*, but by what is preſerved of it, we may judge it was a very worthy one, and that the miracles there wrought deſerve to be compared with thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. He tells us, *that from a Child he loved St.* James *of* Compoſtella, *and ſpent fourteen years in going from place to place to learn his miracles, and that he put them together in looſe papers which were miraculouſly preſerved among thieves, in priſon, in water, in fire, and at laſt by a viſion was confirmed that his work was pleaſing to God: therefore he deſires that no body would deſpiſe his Work, for whatever is written in it is Authentick and confirmed by great Authority; and decrees that the miracles ſhould be read in the Refectories on Feſtival days.* He could not have

Mariana *de Adventu* Jacobi c. 12.

Vincent. *Spec. Hiſt.* l. 26. c. 30.

have decreed better, for in truth they are an excellent entertainment.

c. 33.) In *A. D.* 1090. saith *Calixtus*, *certain Germans were going to St.* James, *and in the City of* Tholouse, *they were made drunk by their Host, who put two silver Cups into the Portmantues of two of them: next morning he ran after them and cried Thieves; they knowing their own innocency desired to be examined; the Cups were found in the Portmantues of Father and Son: the Judge determined that but one of them should be hanged, and after much complementing between them the Son was executed; the Father goes on his Pilgrimage, and after thirty six days returning by the place he goes to the body of his Son, and there wept bitterly over him. On a sudden his Son began to comfort him, and said, O my Father weep not, but rejoyce, for I never was so well in my whole life. For to this time St.* James *hath supported me, and comforted me with Heavenly pleasure; at which his Father being overjoyed ran to the City, and the people flocking thither took him down safe and sound, and hanged up the Host in his Room.* Was our Saviours raising *Lazarus* after only four days, to be compared to this?

Ibid. *In the year* 1100. *a certain French man, avoiding the mortality then in* France, *resolved*

ved to go in Pilgrimage with his Wife and Children to St. James *of* Compoſtella; *at* Pampelona *his Wife dyed and the Hoſt ſeized upon his Beaſt and his Mony. The man went on however with his Children; and at the Towns end one meets him with an Aſs which offends him to carry his Children. When he was come to* Compoſtella *one night as he was praying St.* James *appeared to him and aſked him if he knew him; he told him no; then he ſaid I am* James *the Apoſtle who met thee at* Pampelona *and lent thee my Aſs; and now I lend him thee home again, and I tell thee thou ſhalt find thy Hoſt dead, which happened accordingly, and as ſoon as ever he took his Children off from the Aſs he diſappeared.* This is an inſtance of his kindneſs by Land, but *Calixtus* tells us he was as kind by Sea too.

Witneſs *the Sea Captain that tumbled to the bottom of the Sea with his armour on, to whom St.* James *there appeared and taking him by the hand, brought him ſafe to his ſhip again.* c. 34.

Witneſs *the Pilgrim that fell into the Sea, whom St.* James *held by the hair of his head, and kept him above water for three days till he came to his Port,* c. 35.

Theſe were pretty odd things at Sea, but if we come to Land again, what ſhall we *Ibid.*

think

think *of his making a man leap from a Tower forty cubits high without any hurt?*

c. 36. Nay, which is a much greater and a more courteous miracle, what ſhall we ſay *to a high Tower ſtooping to the ground that a man might go off without any danger from a leap?* yet this is related by the ſame Pope to have happened *A. D.* 1106.

Theſe are pleaſant taſts of the kind of St. *James* his miracles related by no meaner a perſon than the Head of the Roman Church: but theſe are too luſcious to be inſiſted on.

c. 41. Only for a warning that men ſhould obſerve his Feaſt, he ſaith, *that a Country man in* Spain *preſuming to threſh on that day, and at night going into a Bath, the skin of his back parts from his ſhoulders to his thighs, went off from him and ſtuck to the Wall*; and ſo the poor man died for an example.

If theſe things do not prove that the miracles wrought by St. *James* at *Compoſtella*, are equal to thoſe wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in *Judea*, truly I do not know what will.

Of St. *Mary Magdalens* Vial and other Reliques. §. 5. We muſt now proceed *to the Vial of St.* Mary Magdalen *and the Church of St.* Maximin *in* France: *into which ſhe put the Blood of our Saviour which viſibly boyls up every year on the day of our Saviours Paſſion.*

It

It would aſtoniſh a man to ſee ſuch ſopperies as theſe are, compared with the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. If they had done no more than ſhewed ſuch tricks to convince the world, it might have remained under Paganiſm to this day. The miracles wrought by Chriſt or his Apoſtles tended to the great benefit and advantage of mankind, and were not cunningly managed in a corner; for a ſolemn ſhew at a certain ſeaſon of the year; but the gift of healing the ſick and the gift of tongues, in which conſiſted chiefly the Teſtimony God gave to his Apoſtles, were things of real advantage to the world and lay open to the obſervation of every one. But the world is apt to ſuſpect and not without reaſon, theſe uſeleſs and ſecret miracles; if they be true they ſignifie no good to the world, if they be falſe they do unſpeakable miſchief to Religion. Our Saviours Blood was never ſhed to ſhew tricks with, and *Mary Magdalen* was hardly at leaſure at our Saviours paſſion to gather up his Blood as it dropt from him. But what will not theſe men ſay and profeſs to believe too! Certainly there were never more ſhameful impoſtures than about Reliques and Miracles in the Roman Church; and when ſome of the wiſer men of their own communion abroad ſhake their heads and are aſhamed of them; our *S. C's* and

E. W's

E. W's magnifie them ſtill, as though the people of *England* were as capable of being made Fools as ever. I pity the weakneſs and credulity of ſome, but I abhor the hypocriſie and fraud of thoſe, who do not believe theſe things themſelves, and yet would make others believe them. Gentlemen, Religion is a grave and ſerious thing, and a ſevere account muſt be given to God of any thing we ſay about it; God will never think himſelf honoured by the falſhood and hypocriſie of men; and that Church of all others in the world ſhall never draw me to its communion which cannot be upheld without abuſing mankind, and the moſt excellent Religion in the world. If you have any miracles to ſhew, do them as Chriſt and his Apoſtles did in the midſt of their enemies and upon them too; can you do them for a better end than our converſion? was not this the end God deſigned miracles for? and how comes he to change his patent among you, with whom they are only done among Friends and in corners: Where they may be ſhewed with advantage among ignorant people who have no skill in Opticks nor judgement to know the difference between the boyling of a thing from a natural cauſe and by a miracle. For truths ſake, if your Church, hath ſuch a power of miracles as Chriſt and his Apoſtles had, never ſend us

to

to *Loreto* or *Compostella*, or St. *Maximins Church* in *France*; nor refer us to your *Tables* and *Legends*, those are things in no request among us, whatever they be with you; but we have many sick and wounded persons and many dead; come and cure all manner of diseases with a word, in an instant, perfectly, and openly; raise those who have died of a known incurable disease, and are carried out to be buried or have lain in their Graves as Christ did: or else out of honour to Christ and Truth, and for meer shame avoid such rude and impudent comparisons of the miracles of your Church, with those of Christ and his Apostles. If we must believe St. *Mary Magdalens* Vial; why not as well all the rest of the Glorious Reliques of your Church, for there are few of them, but have as good Authority as that of *Spondanus*, which *E. W.* produces for this Miraculous Vial? Why not the *Foreskin* of Christ about which no meaner a man than *Cardinal Tolet* saith *great miracles were wrought at* Calcata *in* Italy *A. D.* 1559. *after it had been stolen from the Lateran Church in* Rome *by a certain Souldier* A. D. 1527. *and lay undiscovered till after his death*; and yet *Ferrandus* tells us, that *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Lorain* and *France*, all boast that they have it. *Bollandus*, or rather *Roswayd* tells us, *that those of* Antwerp

Tolet in c. 2. Luc. Anno. 31.

Joh. Ferrandi disquis. Religiosi. l. 1. c. 1. sect. 1.

Bolland. Acta Sanctorum Jan 1. p. 304, &c.

Innocent. de Miſſe myſter. l. 4. c. 30.

pleaded a poſſeſſion of it for almoſt 500. *years*; and the *teſtimonies of Pope* Eugenius *A. D.* 1446. and *Clement* the eighth *A. D.* 1599. Pope *Innocent* the third notwithſtanding his pretence to Infallibility *thought it fit that ſo weighty a cauſe ſhould be left to God himſelf to determine. Symphorianus Campegius* in *Bollandus*, ſaith, that it is at *Anicium* (le Puy) *in* France *together with* Aarons *Miter*; others ſay, *that it was carried by an Angel to* Charles *the great, and he placed it at* Aken. Now the ſame worſhip is given at all theſe places where it is ſuppoſed to be, and I ſuppoſe miracles equally wrought at them. I deſire to know when falſe and counterfeit Reliques do work miracles, what we are to think of the Teſtimony given by ſuch miracles and of the nature of them? It is a pleaſant thing to ſee the accounts given by theſe men of the ſame Reliques being in ſeveral places at once. *Ferrandus* hath found out very ſubtil ways to ſolve this difficulty and particularly concerning this Foreskin of Chriſt. 1. *By a multiplication of it*; which being in Gods power to do, no queſtion is to be made but he does it. 2. *By a wonderful replication of it*; the terms I confeſs are not very eaſie, but I ſuppoſe he means, that the ſame body may be in ſeveral places at once. He tells us, that

Fernand. diſq. Relig. l. 1. c. 1. ſect. 2.

Suarez

Suarez and *Collius* ſee *no cauſe for ſo great a miracle*; *but he thinks there is as much reaſon for it, as for the multiplication of the Wood of the Croſs*; and I think ſo too. But yet he hath another reſerve, which is, *that theſe ſeveral Prepuces are really nothing but ſo many parts of the Umbilical Veſſels, which are ſent up and down for the conſolation of the faithful.* And no doubt they tend very much to it; eſpecially when they miſtake one thing for another. And why may not then that which goes for the Blood of Chriſt be the blood of ſome other perſon; eſpecially ſince the blood of Chriſt is ſhewn in ſo many other places beſides? But that we may not however doubt of the truth of both theſe, St. *Brigit* ſaith in her *Revelations, that the Virgin* Mary *told her that a little before her aſſumption ſhe committed the Sacred Prepuce to the care of St.* John, *with ſome of the Blood which remained in the wounds of Chriſt. Et jam liceat dubitare?* Saith *Ferrandus*: by no means. But it is good to underſtand where it is. Yet he tells us, *ſome are of opinion, that there is no other blood of Chriſt upon earth, beſides that in the Euchariſt: and others that all the blood of Chriſt which was ſhed in his paſſion, was reſumed at his reſurrection, and therefore he rather inclines to think, it is ſome of the blood he ſhed in his*

Brigit Revel. l. 6.

Ferrand. l. 2. c. 1. ſect. 1.

Agony, which is preſerved in ſo many places. But was St. *Mary Magdalen* there with her Vial to gather it up? No, it is ſaid, it was at the time of his Paſſion and therefore this anſwer cannot ſerve. How then come ſuch great quantities of this Blood to be ſeen? not only in St. *Maximins* Church but at *Paris*, at *Rome*, at *Mantua*, and ſeveral other places mentioned by *Ferrandus*. To this, he anſwers with *Biel that Chriſt had a whole legion of wounds 6666.* and *Alanus de Rupe* hath undertaken to caſt up juſt how many drops he ſhed *viz.* 547500. And can there be any reaſon in the world to queſtion the credibility of the Teſtimonies of ſuch perſons who are ſo exact and punctual in their calculations? Far be it from us in the leaſt to derogate from that ineſtimable love which the Son of God expreſſed in ſhedding his Blood as a Sacrifice of Propitiation for us. We adore, and celebrate that ſacred myſterie of our Redemption by the Blood of that immaculate Lamb. It is the Blood of Chriſt we glory in and hope for Salvation by; but not as kept for Reliques, or preſerved in Vials to make a ſhew of; much leſs to abuſe mankind with a pretence of that Sacred Blood, when there is not the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon to believe it.

But thus it hath been in the Church of *Rome*, they have turned the most wise and holy and reasonable Religion in the world into a matter of shew and ceremony. And for this end they have made use of all manner of devices to get any thing into their hands, that seemed to have any relation to the bodies, or garments of Christ, or his Disciples. And thus while they sleight their words, and corrupt their Doctrine, and pervert their institutions; no persons can contend more than they for the hair, or nails that belonged to any of their bodies, although they destroy each others Testimonies, by so many pretending to the same things. The very *Tears* of Christ are pretended to be kept in two several places in *France*: and those put into a Vial too by the blessed Virgin, if we believe the *Jesuit Ferrandus*. It is a pretty competent Miracle to preserve Tears so long: but what cannot they shew, *who have some of the hair of Christ, when an Infant*, at St. *Denis in France* as *Spondanus* assures us, and *some of the swadling clouts he was wrapt in*, *in the Manger*? And as good an Author every whit as *Spondanus*, relates that at *Courchiverni* a place near *Bloys* the breath of *Joseph* is kept in a *Vial* too, which the Angel took while he was cleaving Wood. What a shame would it be now for us to question the

Disp. Relig. l. 1. c. 2. sect. 2.

Spond. A. 1205. *n.* 1.

Molinæi. hyperaspist. c. 18.

truth of any other Relicks among them? Why ſhould we diſpute the vaſt quantity of the *bleſſed Virgins Milk*, ſo learnedly defended by *Ferrandus*? to be ſeen in *Judea*, in *Italy*, in *Spain*, and in many places in *France*. What doubt can be made of the *ſeveral Locks of her Hair*? For although they believe her Body aſſumed up into Heaven; yet no doubt, ſaith *Ferrandus*, *by frequent combing enough would fall off to furniſh the ſeveral Churches in* Rome, *in* Spain, *in* France, *and other places*, *with it*. What if ſo many places pretend to have the *true Seamleſs Coat of Chriſt*? is it poſſible, they ſhould be any of them miſtaken, although there could be but one true one? For it is a very weak defence of *Ferrandus* to ſay, that there were many made after the likeneſs of the true one; for all places contend that they have the true. It were endleſs to give an account of multitudes of other Relicks, which *Ferrandus* confeſſes to be equally challenged by many places; and which he pitifully defends by ſuch ſhifts, as theſe are.

Ferrand. l. 1. c. 2.

Ibid.

l. 1 c. 1. ſect 4.

But it is not enough to ſhew in general that there can be no ſufficient credibility in the Teſtimony given to the *Relicks* of the Roman Church; but I ſhall now ſhew it more particularly concerning this *Vial* of St. *Mary Magdalen*. This Vial is ſuppoſed to be of her own

own bringing into *France*, and it is worth the while to know how ſhe came thither.

Thus the ſtory is related in the *Roman Breviary*. *After Chriſts Aſcenſion to Heaven*, Martha *with her Siſter* Mary, (whom they ſuppoſe to be *Mary Magdalen*) *and with her Brother* Lazarus *and their ſervant* Marcella, *and* Maximinus *one of the ſeventy Diſciples of our Lord with many other Chriſtians were put into a Ship by the Jews without any Sail or Oars, that they might periſh by Shipwrack: but by the Providence of God the Ship came ſafe to* Marſeilles: *by which Miracle and Preaching the inhabitants of* Marſeilles *and of* Aix, *and the neighbour people were converted: and* Lazarus *was made Biſhop of* Marſeilles, *and* Maximinus *of* Aix. *But* Mary Magdalen *having accuſtomed her ſelf to prayer and a contemplative life, retired into a hollow Cave of a very high Mountain; where ſhe continued thirty years, ſeparated from all converſation with men, and every day was carried up by Angels, to hear the Choire of Angels Sing.* This is contained in the fourth and fifth Leſſons on *July* 29. in the preſent *Roman Breviary*: but we are to conſider that this ſtory was not always in the *Roman Breviary*; for thoſe who reformed it under *Pius* the fifth had left it out; but ſince it hath been thought fit to be reſtored again;

it being much for the edification of the people, to hear such *Legends*. For there is not the least pretence in Antiquity for any part of it, as a Learned Doctor of the *Sorbon* hath at large proved, shewing in a set Discourse that for a thousand years after Christ it was the constant tradition of the *Greek* and *Latin Church*, that *Lazarus*, *Martha*, and *Magdalen*, all dyed in the *Eastern parts*, and not a word said of *Maximinus*; that the whole story is taken out of a very fabulous Book, pretended to be Written by *Marcella* the servant to *Martha* in the Hebrew Tongue, and Translated by one *Synthex* into *Latin*; and preserved by *Vincentius* in his History. It may not be amiss to set down some of the Miracles contained in this story; one is, of the Persons who accompanied them and the places assigned to them, as *Trophimus* was sent to *Arles*, *Paulus* to *Narbon*, *Eutropius* to *Aurange*,, *Austregesilus* to *Bourges*, *Irenæus* to *Lyons*, *Ferrutius* to *Bezancon*, and *Dionysius* is placed over all *France*. Was there ever better company put together? when *Irenæus* dyed A. D. 205. *Eutropius* A. D. 464. *Austregisilus* A. D. 629. and *Trophimus*, *Paulus*, *Martialis*, *Saturninus*, and *Dionysius* are by the most Learned Writers of *France*, cast back as far as the time of *Decius*: and *Ferrutius* was a Disciple of *Irenæus*. It would be

Joh. Launoii de Connexitio Lazari & Maximini, Marthæ & Magdalenæ in Provinciam appulsu opuscula. Paris. 1660.

Viaten. spec. lib. 1. c. 94.

too

too tedious to relate *Mary Magdalens* Preaching at *Marſeilles*, (notwithſtanding St. *Pauls* prohibition, which the Author ſaith, *ſhe had not heard of, but aſſoon as ſhe did, ſhe retired into her Cave*) the manner of the converſion of the *Governour* of *Marſeilles* and his *Lady*, *their going towards* Hieruſalem; *her death upon the birth of her Child in the paſſage*; St. Peters *conducting him to* Hieruſalem, *ſeeing the badge of the Croſs on his ſhoulders*; *the miraculous education of the Child by ſucking the breaſts of his dead Mother, who was found by his Father on the ſhore after two years playing with ſtones, and running upon all four: the Reſurrection of the Mother, their return to* Marſeilles, *where they found* Mary Magdalen *Preaching to a multitude of people*; *the monſtrous Dragon tamed by* Martha *with a little holy water and the ſign of the Croſs*; *which was thicker than an* Oxe, *longer than a Horſe, had the head of a Lyon, and the ſtrength of twelve Lyons, and was ſuppoſed to be of the race of the Leviathan mentioned in* Job, *and came by Sea from* Galatia; *being begotten of the Leviathan, on a ſtrange beaſt of that Country, which kills by its ſcent the length of an acre, and what ever it touches, it burns like fire*; theſe and ſeveral other ſuch pleaſant Miracles I purpoſely omit; which *Launoy* calls *more than old wives Tales*,

c. 55. c. 96. c. 57. c. 58. c. 99.

Launoy p. 298. p. 321.

by

by which Christian Religion is dishonoured, and men are abused; which make the enemies of Christianity despise it, and fill its friends with indignation; to hear so holy a Religion so horribly corrupted by the impudent lies of idle men. But after all these things, thus laid together, can we do otherwise than believe that *the Blood of Christ is kept in the Vial of St.* Mary Magdalen *in the Church of St.* Maximin *and that it boyls up every year on the day of our Saviours Passion?*

Of the Miracles of S. *Dominick.*

§. 6. The next thing we are to consider, is, the Miracles recorded in the lives of those two admirable Saints, *B. St.* Dominick, *and Seraphical St.* Francis. The first Miracle we read of concerning St. *Dominick*, was the miraculous prediction concerning him in the two pictures in St. *Marks* Church in *Venice*, reported by no meaner a person than St. *Antonin* (*E. W's. pious and learned Arch-bishop of* Florence.) One in the likeness of St. *Paul* with those words over it ἅγιος παῦλος, and under, these, *Per istum itur ad Christum*, over the other ἅγιος Δομινικός, and under *Facilius itur per istum*; it seems St. *Paul* was but a very ordinary Preacher, if compared wtth the Founder of the order of *Preaching Fryers*. But this prediction did not so plainly set him forth, as the Vision his Mother

Antonin Chron. part 3. Tit. 23. c. 1. lect. 1.

Nicol. Jansenii vit. Domini. l. 1. c. 7.

Mother had near her time of travel with him, viz. *that she bore a Whelp which carried a fire-brand in his mouth, which set the whole World on Fire*; which had its full accomplishment by his being the first Author of the blessed Inquisition; for he was a true *fire brand*, having not near so much light as heat in him. *Jansenius* tells us, that he had no kind of mercy upon Hereticks, that he was rather a Lyon than a man in his carriage towards them. And was not this a fit person to be compared with our blessed Saviour? as he is most blasphemously, by *E. W*'s. *most modest Prelate* Antonin, wherein he is followed by *Jansenius*. They might as well have compared Light and Darkness, tenderness and cruelty, a Wolf and a Lamb together. But the most blasphemous comparison of all others is that which St. *Katharine* of *Siena* said she had by Revelation from God, and is repeated after her, by *Lewis* of *Granada* and *Jansenius*, viz. *That she saw the Eternal Father producing his Son out of his mouth, and St.* Dominick *out of his breast. Whereupon he said to her, my dear Child, thou seest how I have produced these two Sons, whereof the one is my Son by Nature, and the other by Adoption*; and so proceeds in an admirable comparison between them as *Jansenius* thinks it; but we may well use his own words though

Nicol. Jansenii vit. S. Dominic. l. 1. c. 1. Theod. de Apoldia vit. S. D. l. 1 apud Surium Aug. 5. Brev. Rom. Aug. 4. lect. 4. Jansen. Commentar. ad vit. S. Dom. p. 252. Antonin. Chron. p. 3. Tit. 23. c. 1. Jansen. vit. Dom l. 2. c. 14.

Lud. Granat. conc. 1. de Festo S. Dominici Jans. vit. Dom. l. 2. c. 14.

though with a far different meaning. *Quis verò hic non miretur ac ſtupeat?* For who can chooſe but wonder and be aſtoniſhed at ſuch horrible blaſphemy? to ſee a fire-brand compared in ſuch a manner with the Eternal Son of God. But what was it, this B. *Dominick* did to be thought to come ſo near to Chriſt? why forſooth, *Chriſt was laid in a Manger, and St.* Dominick *when an Infant would not lie in his Cradle, but would throw himſelf out of it, and lie upon the bare ground; when Chriſt was born, a ſtar appeared to the wiſe men, and when St.* Dominick *was baptized, his Godmother fancied ſhe ſaw a ſtar in his forehead. Chriſt went at twelve years old to the Temple, and St.* Dominick *was carried to Church by his Parents and there left to be inſtructed.* O admirable compariſons! But yet further. St. *Dominicks Fathers name was* Felix, *and his Mothers* Joanna; now *Joanna*, ſaith *Antonin is as much as full of Grace, and the Angel in his ſalutation ſaid to the bleſſed Virgin. Ave Maria, gratia plena,* Can any thing be now plainer than this compariſon between our Saviour and St. *Dominick? But it may be, he wrought ſome ſpecial Miracles in which he came near to Chriſt.* I ſhall mention ſome of them by which we may make a judgement of the credibility of the reſt. One particular

lar thing which St. *Antonin* inſtances in, was St. *Dominicks power over Devils*; and in truth he was very extraordinary in this. *Janſenius* hath already put together ſeveral inſtances to my hands. It ſeems the Devil uſed to trouble him in ſeveral ſhapes; but he was never more vexed with him, than when he flew up and down while he was Preaching to the Siſters (ſo my Author calls them) in the ſhape of a *Sparrow*. He perceiving the Devils cunning, called to Siſter *Maximilla* to catch him and deliver him to him. She did ſo, who had no ſooner got him into his hands but he falls to the pulling him crying out ſtill *Enemy, Enemy*. Till at laſt he left not a Feather upon him, and then inſulted over him and bid him fly now if he could. The poor Sparrow hop'd up and down till at laſt he got under a Braſs Lamp before the Altar of the bleſſed Virgin, and down he tumbles that: when behold a mighty Miracle, the Lamp hanging by a Chain fell not to the ground, and which was more, not a drop of oyl ſpilt; but at St. *Dominicks* command the Lamp was put in its right place; and the Sparrow diſappeared. But the Devil was never ſo abuſed as when he appeared in the ſhape of a *Monky*, when St. *Dominick* was writing late at night; and the Devil was ſhewing Monky-tricks round about him: Saint

Janſ ib.l.2. c. 10.

Theodric. vit. Dom. l. 3. c. 7.

Saint *Dominick* nodded to him to ſtand ſtill and hold his Candle for him. The Devil could not yet leave his old tricks, but at laſt the Candle was almoſt burnt out; and the Monkys Toes began to burn, then he made a lamentable noiſe; ſtill St. *Dominick* commanded him by his nod, (for he would not vouchſafe to ſpeak to the Devil) to ſtand ſtill, which he was fain to do, till his Toe was burnt, and then St. *Dominick* ſoundly laſhed him and ſent him going. I would not be thought to pick theſe things out of *old Legends*, that are diſowned by themſelves; but I aſſure the Reader, theſe things are not only contained in the ancient and approved Writers of St. *Dominicks* life, but in *Nicol. Janſenius* the lateſt and moſt elegant of them; whoſe Book was Printed at *Antwerp* A. D. 1622. And he further tells us, that the Devil finding no good was to be done this way, was reſolved to ſet upon him by main force; and finding him once ſo intent at Prayers that no noiſe would diſturb him, he takes a huge ſtone from the top of the Church and throws it at his head, but hit only his Cowle. But when he ſaw he could not ſtir him with all this, he went ſneakingly away. *This happened*, he ſaith, *in the Church of St.* Sabina, *where the ſtone is ſtill to be ſeen, and is of the bigneſs of a great Holland Cheeſe*, ſaith *Janſenius*,

Jonſenius, and as black as pitch. One time, the Devil came to him to confeſſion, but St. *Dominick* preſently ſmelt him out, and ſo rated him that he ſent him away ſpeedily to Hell. If he met with poſſeſſed perſons he had a trick that he could make them confeſs what he had a mind to. For we are to underſtand, that the bleſſed Virgin among many ſingular favours ſhe had ſhewed to St. *Dominick* had taught him ſuch a way of praying, as was never known before, the moſt effectual againſt Devils and all ſorts of enemies that could be: which is ſometimes called the *Pſalter* of the *bleſſed Virgin*, ſometimes only the *Roſary* conſiſted of one hundred and fifty *Ave Marys*, and fifteen *Pater Noſters*. This excellent device was revealed to him, after his Body had had three days converſation with Bryers and Thorns in the Woods near *Thoulouſe when the bleſſed Virgin*, ſaith *Alanus de Rupe, commended it to him as the moſt effectual means to reform the World; and therefore commanded him to Preach and inculcate this in all places.* Aſſoon as ever he began to Preach it up, it is not to be thought how the Devils were alarm'd at it, ſtrange Thunders and Lightenings, and Earthquakes immediately happened upon it. St. *Dominick* goes on, and at laſt the Devils were heard to cry out through the Air, *Wo, wo to us, we are bound*

Alanus de rupe de dignit. Pſal. c. 3. *Gotton. Chronicon. Diparæ* A. D. 1213. *Brov. A.* 1213. *n.* 9.

bound by this Psalter with Chains of Fire. St. *Dominick* having thus found out what would hamper the Devils, he made use of it upon occasion, for finding a person possessed with several Devils, he ties the *Rosary* of Beads about his neck, and then made the Devils confess what he pleased; and at last they acknowledged *that no man that continued in the use of the Rosary could go to Hell.* Upon this he bids the people fall to their *Rosary*, and at every *Ave Maria*, a Devil went out from the person as black as a Coal. Was ever any thing like this done by Christ or his Apostles? No, I confess they understood nothing of the miraculous virtue of the *Rosary*, that was reserved for a new discovery to help these latter Ages of the World. We read only of *their casting out Devils by Fasting and such Prayer* as Christ instructed them in, but they were to seek in the way of tying Beads about their necks, or exorcising with one hundred and fifty *Ave Marys*. But all the vertue of this admirable *Rosary* doth not lie only in tormenting Devils, for very extraordinary things are reported of it in another way. *Bzovius* saith, *That a Lady in* Spain *being carried prisoner into* Africa, *and there put to lie in among the Cattel, falls to the Rosary of the blessed Virgin, and presently the blessed Virgin appeared and*

Janset. l. 1. c. 5.

Bzov. Annals A. D. 1213. n. 20.

and performed the office of a Midwife to her; and Christ in the habit of a Priest came and baptized the Child; not long after an Angel came and invited her to the Churching, and led her to an unknown Church with St. Anne *and St.* Magdalen, *the blessed Virgin being present, and Christ again in person performed the office.* Are not these fit things to be inserted in Ecclesiastical Annals? But something must be allowed to *Bzovius* for the honour of St. *Dominick* and the *Rosary* invented by him.

He that can believe all these Miracles already reported of St. *Dominick* need not stick at any of the rest, as his Books being preserved dry in the midst of the water, his walking dry in the midst of storms, his raising forty Englishmen out of the water at *Tholouse*, his blessing a Cup of Wine so that it served one hundred and four persons and not a drop of it missing, his turning the Worm that came out of the Womans breast at *Rome* into a rich Jewel, his raising the Cardinals Nephew from the dead, his being lifted up from the ground at his devotion; he that sees sufficient reason to believe the reporters of these things upon their bare words, must rest satisfied that St. *Dominick* wrought Miracles.

Of the Miracles of St. *Francis*.

§. 7. But the Seraphical St. *Francis* did not come much behind him in this pretended gift of working Miracles. I do not find that he had ſuch *a power over Devils* as St. *Dominick* had; but however he did wonderful things in his way. It ſeems St. *Francis* himſelf was not ſo terrible to Devils as *Br. Juniper* was; for St. *Francis* uſed to threaten the Devils, that if they would not go out of perſons, *he would bring Br. Juniper to them*; at whoſe name they preſently flew away, ſaith *Wadding*. For they had ſo great a conſternation upon them at the approach of *Juniper*, that a poſſeſſed perſon perceiving at a quarter of a miles diſtance his coming towards him, ran away for ſeven miles together crying and howling; as the ſame grave and late Author relates. Yet one time the Devil, who owed him a ſpight, was like to have been too hard for him; when he was condemned to be hanged for a Spy; and was upon the Rack, and there confeſſed himſelf a Traytor, but by good fortune the *F. Guardian*, eſpying him and knowing his ſimplicity, (for *Wadding* confeſſes he was commonly accounted a Fool) procured his releaſe. But the Devil (if the *Franciſcans Annaliſt* may be credited) was not ſo much afraid of coming near St. *Francis*, for finding him once in the Cave of

Wadding *Annales Min.* A. 1210. *n.*36.

Wadd. *ib. n* 35 *Ad* A. 1213. *n.*43

Monte

Monte d' Alverno, he was like to have tumbled him down headlong from thence, had not the Rock miraculously yielded to his hands, so that he left the impression of his fingers in the place he laid hold on; which saith *Wadding* were to be seen many years after, but were at last cut away; for fear any person should go thither to confute him. But although St. *Francis* had not that power over him that goes about *like a roaring Lyon*; yet he had an extraordinary power over a devouring *Wolf*, as appears by the story of his miraculous conversion by him: *Wadding* relates the story very briefly, having a mind to be at the end of it; but he agrees in substance with the rest, and refers us particularly to the *Speculum vitæ Sti* Francisci, wherein it is related at large; in short, it is this, there was a terrible Wolf not far from *Eugubium*, that spared neither man nor beast, which kept the people in so much fear, that they durst not stir out of the gates of the City. St. *Francis* moved with a pious zeal not to kill but to convert this Wolf, out he goes at the gates of the City, with no other Armour than what he could presently make with his fingers, *viz.* the sign of the Cross; the people were got upon the tops of their Houses to see the issue of this encounter: the *Wolf* comes with open mouth towards him,

Id. A. 1222. n. 18, 19.

Speculum vitæ S. Fra. l. 1. c. 76.

Spoelberch. not in ſpeculum Franciſc.

St. *Francis* preſently ſhuts his mouth with the ſign of the Croſs (ſee here ſaith *Spoelberch* the wonderful vertue of the ſign of the Croſs) After this St. *Francis* comes to parly with the Wolf in a familiar manner, and ſays to him ***Brother Wolf, I command thee in the name of Chriſt that thou hurt neither me nor any one elſe***; Upon which he immediately falls on the ground in the poſture of a penitent. St. *Francis* takes him to confeſſion, laying open before him the horrid cruelties he had committed; but at laſt offers terms of agreement between him and the City; the Wolf by the moving of his tail and ears plainly ſhewed that he underſtood and accepted his offer. St. *Francis* then tells him he knew he did all this to ſatisfie his hunger, therefore he would take care he ſhould be provided for, if he would promiſe he would never hurt any body again. The Wolf bows his head in token of conſent; and when St. *Francis* held out his hand to make the bargain ſure, the Wolf put his right foot into his hand; (very well underſtanding the way of contracts). Upon this the Wolf quietly walks along with him towards the City; the people ſeeing that, flocked in great abundance about him, St. *Francis* makes an excellent Sermon on the occaſion, and at laſt aſſures them of the converſion of Brother Wolf,

Wolf, and acquaints them with the promiſe he had made for his maintenance; the Wolf renews his promiſe before them all, as formerly. The People were filled with great joy and the Wolf lived very innocently and neighbourly among them all the reſt of his days, and the people much lamented his death. This ſtory I confeſs I did not expect to have met with any where elſe than in the *Golden Legend*, or *the ingenious Book of Conformities*; but not only finding it, in other more creditable Authors among them, but inſerted into their Books of *Annals* by *Wadding*, and defended by *Hen. Sedulius* who writ an *Apology for the Book of Conformities*, I thought I had reaſon to produce it: not knowing but that *E. W.* might reckon this among the miracles of St. *Francis*, which might be paralel'd with thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Cardinal Bonaventure* doth not particularly relate the ſtory, but he mentions *his taming of Wolves* among his extraordinary acts; and tells us of St. *Francis* his great kindneſs to all ſorts of creatures calling them *Brothers and Siſters*.

Hen. Sedulii *Apologetic. advers. ſus Alcoran. Franciſ. pro libro conformit. l.* 3. *c.* 29.

Bonav. *vit. S. Franc. l.* 1 *c.* 8. *n.* 12.

And although Chriſt and his Apoſtles thought it enough to preach only to men and women, St. *Francis* his charity was ſo much beyond theirs, that he preached to *Birds* and *Beaſts* as St. *Anthony* of *Padua* his Diſciple

did to *Fiſhes:* and I aſſure you with no ſmall ſucceſs. For *Wadding* tells us that St. *Francis* was in diſpute with himſelf, whether it were fitter for him to ſpend his time in praying or preaching: being in a great perplexity about it, he ſends to *Brother Sylveſter* (the ſame who ſaw the Golden Groſs come out of St. *Francis* his mouth) and *Siſter Clara*, that they ſhould ſeek God for reſolution; they both agree that he was to Preach; being thus ſatisfied in his Call; the next morning early he goes towards *Bevagna*, and ſeeing a place where multitudes of ſeveral kinds of Birds were gathered together, he makes haſt thither and ſalutes the Birds as if they had been reaſonable creatures. The Birds being big with expectation turned themſelves and bowed their heads towards him; then he admoniſhed them all to hear the word of God, and then ſaid to them. *My Brethren, ye ought to praiſe your Creator that hath given you Feathers and Wings, and good air, and that provides for you without your care.* At which excellent inſtructions, the devout Birds ſtretched out their Necks, and clapt their Wings, opened their Bills, and looked earneſtly upon him. Then he walked in the midſt of them, and not one of them ſtirred, till he gave them the bleſſing and made the ſign of the Croſs over them, and then they all

Wadding *An.* 1212. *n.* 29, 30, 31.

all flew away together. Thus *Cardinal Bonaventure* and *Wadding* both gravely relate the ſtory of his firſt Preaching, after it was revealed that he ought to preach: but that was not all, but they tell us that being returned to his Diſciples, he blamed himſelf for ſo long neglecting the duty of Preaching to the Birds. From hence he went forward in his work, and the Swallows (not being I ſuppoſe at his former Sermon) were very troubleſom in making a noiſe to the diſturbance of the Auditory; to whom he thus ſpake, *Siſters Swallows, it is now time that I ſpeak; for you have tatled enough already. Hear the word of God, and hold your peace till that be done*, which they preſently did; and all the people were aſtoniſhed at the miracle; as well they might. A Scholar of *Paris*, having heard the fame of this miracle, ſay the ſame Authors, and being very much troubled at the chattering of a Swallow, commanded him in the name of St. *Francis* to come to him and hold his peace, which the Swallow immediately did. Another time, as St. *Francis* was paſſing through the Marſhes of *Venice*, he heard a great number of Birds ſinging pleaſantly together, he told his companion, he would go and ſing prayers among them; which he did, but becauſe the noiſe was ſo great they could not hear prayers, he bid them leave

Bonavent. *l.* 1. *c.* 12. *n.* 4.

Wadding *A.* 1212. *n.* 32.

Bonav. *l.* 1. *c.* 8. *n.* 8.

off ſinging till he had done. Which they did as readily as if they had made the vow of obe-
Id. ib. n. 6. dience. But this ſpirit of devotion did not fall upon the Birds alone; for he inſtructed a Sheep to attend prayers, which ſhe conſtantly did kneeling, and bleating before the Altar of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was her way of ſaluting her. O, but at the elevation of the Hoſt, ſhe fell down upon her knees, in token of her profound reverence. We need not now wonder at the devout Dog of *Liſbon*, whoſe ſtory is told with ſo much cir-
Euſeb. Nieremb. *hiſt. natur. l. 9. c. 94.* cumſtance by *Euſebius Nierembergius*, that belonged to a *Cook* of *Liſbon*, and conſtantly followed the Sacrament whereever it went; and could by no means be drawn off from his attendance; and not only ſo, but would let no perſons be quiet, if they did not pay their devotion to the Sacrament. I think it would be a hard caſe to determine whether St. *Francis* his Sheep, or the *Liſbon* Dog, or St. *Anthony's Mule* had the greateſt devotion to the Hoſt: it is certain they were all very extraordinary in their ſevery kinds. But it was not only ſuch mild creatures as Sheep that were thus obedient to St. *Francis*, but being once to preach at *Trevi* in the market place, the young Fole of an Aſs ran up and down and very much diſturbed him; at laſt St. *Francis* with a pleaſing Counte-

nance

nance said to him, *Brother Aſs, I deſire thee to ſtand ſtill and not interrupt the word of God which I am now Preaching to this thirſty people:* Upon which the Aſs (moved belike to ſee the humility of this good man in owning his poor kindred) fell upon his knees and heard the Sermon quite out. Was any miracle like theſe ever done by Chriſt or his Apoſtles? But did St. *Francis* work no other kind of miracles? Yes we are told of many more, and of another nature, but they are all delivered by the ſame perſons, and upon the ſame credit; ſo that if we believe ſome upon their words, we ought to take all; if we reject ſome and take others, we believe not upon their teſtimony; but our own judgement. One thing more is ſo remarkable that we ought not to omit it, *viz.* that St. *Antonin* applying that place of the Pſalms to him, *he ſits upon the Cherubim and rides upon the wings of the wind*; makes it plain from thence, that St. *Francis* being above the *Cherubim*, was of the order of *Seraphim* (for which reaſon, or for none *E. W.* calls him *the Seraphical St.* Francis) and to make this out, they tell us, that he appeared in *a Chariot of Fire* among his Diſciples; but what was more miraculous, he and his *Brother Maſſæus* going to Preach, he was ſo ſet on fire with zeal and devotion that he ſeemed to caſt flames

Wadding *An.* 1213. *n.* 6.

St. Antonj *Chron. Tom.* 3. *tit* 24. *c.* 1.

Wadding *An.* 1216. *n.* 25.

out

Speculum Francif. l. 2. c. 35. out of his mouth; and called his Br. *Maſſæus* to him crying A. a. a. with the force of which breath *Frier Maſſæus* was carried up into the air many cubits, ſaith *Wadding*. Nay it was no extraordinary thing with St. *Francis* himſelf to be ſo raiſed up, for *Frier Leo* who was permitted to be with him in his retirement to *Monte d'Alverno*, found him ſometimes ſo high in the air in a rapture, that he could juſt kiſs his feet; ſometimes up to the middle of the trees, and ſometimes ſo high that he could hardly diſcern him; (eſpecially in a dark night.) But the moſt glorious miracle of St. *Francis* was that of the *bleeding wounds of Chriſt* in his *ſide*, and *hands*, and *feet*: as to which it is obſervable, that they were ſo wonderfully concealed, that no man could ever fully diſcern them in his life time; only *Frier Ruffin* once thought he ſpied the *wound* in his ſide. And although many ways were uſed to convince men of the truth of theſe wounds after his death; yet to me there was none like that of the Image of St. *Francis*, for to convince a certain *Frier*, from the mark of the wound in his ſide freſh blood was ſeen to run, from which time he moſt firmly believed them. And can we think that St. *Thomas* his putting his hands into the wounds of our Saviours ſide, was half ſo ſtrong an evidence of the truth of Chriſts reſurrection,

Wadding A. 1215. n. 12.

Speculum Francif. l. 1. c. 89.

Speculum Francif. l. 2. c. 34.

Wadding A. 1237. n. 5.

surrection, as the bleeding of an Image was of the wounds of St. *Francis*? No, no, although a Body may deceive, a Picture cannot. Are not these now doughty miracles and attested with such uncontrolable evidence, that they ought to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles?

§. 8. Before I dispatch this first head in shewing upon what uncertain reports miracles are received and believed in the Roman Church; I shall give an account of some of them nearer home, by which we may judge how far the Miracles boasted of by *E. W.* ought in point of credibility to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles. I hope none will deny that there are some bounds to be set to our belief of reports concerning miracles: for although Gods omnipotency hath no bounds, yet we are not to think that God doth equally imploy his power in all things, nor at all times, nor as often as men shall please to say he doth it. In many cases it is very hard to determine the farthest extent of the power of nature; and punctually to shew what is a miracle and what not; for the power of meer natural causes may lie secret and hidden from us; yet from a continual observation of the course of nature a certain sphere may be fixed, within which the

Of the miracles related of the *British* and *Irish* Saints.

the effects of nature are contained. As that a body being once truly dead, cannot of it ſelf come to life again; that there are ſome diſeaſes at ſuch a height as to be incurable by natural means; in theſe caſes the raiſing of ſuch a body to life, the curing of ſuch diſeaſes being done frequently, publickly, and in an inſtant are great arguments of a miraculous and divine power. And this we ſay was the caſe of the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: but from hence men ought not to abuſe mankind; and becauſe the power of God is unlimited, therefore to ſay that the moſt extravagant, fooliſh and idle imaginations of men, becauſe they have paſſed without proof for miracles among credulous people, muſt ſtill be received for ſuch. For is it reaſonable that becauſe we believe that nothing is impoſſible with God, therefore we muſt not queſtion that ſo many Saints walked with their heads off, or did ſuch extravagant things as the makers of the *lives* of the *Saints* tell us? For it was not only St. *Denis* of *France* of whom that is reported; but our own Eccleſiaſtical ſtories will acquaint us with many other Inſtances of a like nature. So Mr. *Creſſy* tells us of St. *Juſtinian the martyr, that when his head was cut off, his body preſently roſe, and taking the head between the two arms went down to the*

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory, Book 11. c. 8. n. 15.

Sea

sea shore, and walking thence on the Sea passed over to the port called by his name; and being arrived in the place where a Church is now built to his memory, he fell down, and was there buried by St. David *with admirable hymns and canticles.* So the same grave historian relates of St. *Ositha, that as soon as her head was cut off, her body presently rose and taking up the head in the hands by the conduct of Angels walked firmly the straight way to the Churches of St.* Peter *and St.* Paul *about a quarter of a mile distant from the place of her suffering, and when it was come there, it knocked at the door with the bloody hands, as desiring that it might be opened, and thereon left marks of blood. Having done this, it fell there down to the ground.* Book 17. c. 15. n. 5.

To the same purpose he tells of St. *Clarus, whose head being cut off presently after arose, and with his hands taking up his head, by the assistance of Angels, carried it to a fountain not far distant, into which he cast it: and then carried the same back to the Oratory of his Cell, and going on a little further towards a Village seated near the River* Epta, *he there consummated his course, and transmitted his blessed soul to Heaven.* Book 17. c. 3. n. 7.

And of St. *Decumanus* he writes, *that when his head was cut off from his Body, the trunk raising it self up took the head which it carried from the* Book 21. c. 3. n. 6.

place

place where he was ſlain to a ſpring not far off, which flowed with a moſt Chriſtalline water, in which with the hands it waſhed the blood away. So St. *Juthwara with her own hands took up her head being cut off, and to the aſtoniſhment of all,* (as we may eaſily imagine,) *carried it back ſteadily into the Church.* Theſe are pretty good inſtances for one that takes it ſo ill that his Hiſtory ſhould be called the *great Legend* What can be imagined more abſurd, and be ſuppoſed to be done to leſs purpoſe than ſuch foppiſh miracles as theſe? But I extreamly wonder at his niceneſs in omitting ſome others of a like nature delivered by a late infallible Author called *Oral Tradition:* As St. *Maxentia's being beheaded and carrying her head in her hands,* for which *Capgrave* quotes nothing leſs than infallible Oral Tradition; *for,* ſaith he, *faithful people have received this from their Fathers by certain tradition.* And have their late men better any argument than this for tranſubſtantiation, invocation of Saints, *&c. Why* forſooth, *can it be imagined that Fathers ſhould go about to deceive their Children? did not they who ſaw it know the truth of what they ſaw? would not they ſpeak truth to their Children? how, could then any errour or miſtake come into the belief of the faithful. None certainly. Why then it is a demonſtration*

Book 23. c. 9. n. 8.

Capgrav. F. 218. 1.

demonſtration, that St. Maxentia *did after her head was cut off from her body carry it in her hands. Can any thing be more demonſtrative than this?* And by the ſame arguments we are aſſured, that *the Head* of St. *Melorus* being cut off, out of great pity to *Cerialtanus* his murtherer, being in a great thirſt, *had him thruſt his ſtaff into the ground, and he ſhould immediately ſee a ſpring to ariſe thence, with which he might plentifully quench his thirſt.* Was not the head of this Saint very charitable and kind to his murtherer? Now this, which was a principal part of the ſtory Mr. *Creſſy* ſeems in a very ſullen humour to leave out; although he takes the reſt from *Capgrave*; of which I can only give this account, (for I have no reaſon to queſtion Mr. *Creſſy*'s faith or good will;) that *Alford* from whom he tranſlates his hiſtory, only refers to *Capgrave*, and doth not relate enough for Mr. *Creſſy* to make up the Legend. The like omiſſion he is guilty of about another miracle concerning him, *viz. that when by the command of his Uncle his right hand and left foot were cut off; and he had a ſilver hand and braſs foot framed for him*, (as Mr. Creſſy *confeſſeth*) Capgrave *adds, that he could move the fingers and open and ſhut his hand as if it had been made of nerves, and fleſh, and bones*; but this likewiſe is left out in

Alford *Annales Eccleſ.* A. D. 411. n. 5.

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory. Book 8. c. 26. n. 3.

in *Alford*, from which it appears how faithfully Mr. *Creſſy* kept to his Author. Upon the ſame reaſon, I ſuppoſe, he omits, St. *Paternus* his calling to his man when he was dead, and he ſaw his head cut off before his eyes; but behold a miracle, the head anſwered to him, *Here I am Sir*, at which the Saint finding out the head and joyning it to the body, it preſently aroſe ſafe and ſound. It is not to be thought that Mr. *Creſſy* did queſtion the latter part of it, who at large relates the miracle of St. *Winifred's* *head being joyned to her body again, and her riſing up preſently upon it, cleanſing her face from the duſt and ſweat; to the wonderful joy of the whole Congregation.* But as I obſerved before; *a white circle remained ever after about her neck, ſhewing the place where the ſection had been made.* And can the heart of man doubt of this? when Mr. *Creſſy* ſaith, *that immediately after her death, her ſtory was written by the holy Abbot* Elerius, *her laſt ſpiritual Father*, and this ſtory was conſtantly read upon her day in the *Breviary ſecundum uſum Sarum.* But St. *Edmund* had a *red liſt* about his neck when after his head had been cut off by his enemies, it was found joyned faſt to the Body in his Grave; and which was very remarkable, when his friends ſeeking after his body in the wood, had like to have loſt

Capgrav. F. 259. 2.

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory *l.* 16. *c.* 8. *n.* 8.

Breviar. *ſecundum uſum Sarum* 3. *Nov. lect.* 8.

Capgrav. F. 108. 1.

loſt themſelves and one of them cried to the other, where art thou? the head anſwered diſtinctly *Here, Here, Here*; and never ceaſed crying ſo till it had brought them all to it. This miracle Mr. *Creſſy* very honeſtly gives an account of, and ſaith, *he finds it atteſted and received by all ancient Authors without exception, particularly by* William *of* Malmſbury. But ſo much he dares not ſay of St. *Winnifred*; for he confeſſes *that* Bede *and the* Saxon *Hiſtorians do not mention her*; and among theſe his own *Malmsbury* is one; but both he and *Alford* think *that the* Saxons *hated the* Britains *to that degree, that they would not ſo much as remember their Saints.* Which is a very likely thing. But of all the miracles of this kind commend me to thoſe of St. *Cadoc*: one time, when he was building an Oratory, an *Iriſh* artificer came to his aſſiſtance, who being envied by his fellow workmen, they very maliciouſly cut off his head and tied a great ſtone to his body and ſo threw it into a pond, next morning the beheaded artificer brings his head in his lap and the great ſtone at his back; and all bloody ſhews himſelf to St. *Cadoc*, then the Head (to whom it belonged to ſpeak) thus addreſſed it ſelf to the Saint. *O ſervant of God ſet my head on my ſhoulders again, and I will tell thee all the things which thou knoweſt not about this mat-*

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory l. 27. c. 27. n. 2.

Capgrav. F. 53. 1.

ter. Which he had no ſooner done, but the head told the whole ſtory, and having done ſo expired. But as remarkable was his raiſing
Id. f. 54. 1. the Gyant *Can* at St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, who told him that he brought his Soul out of Hell; and being ſo uſeful a man, upon the prayers of St. *Cadoc* he lived a notable digger and labourer there a good while after. Have we not now very great reaſon to believe theſe Miracles? and is not the Authority of the Legendaries, from whom theſe things are reported, equal to the Teſtimony of all Chriſtians? and are not the Miracles themſelves as credible and likely to be true as thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? But if theſe do not ſatisfie, what can we be able to ſay, to *Count Wallen Earl of Northumberland*, who being beheaded for rebellion againſt *William* the Conqueror, his head ſixteen years after
Id. f. 278. his death, ſaith *Capgrave*, was found faſtened to his body and only a bloody liſt about his neck where it was cut off. It ſeems Rebells are as capable of theſe Miracles as Saints. We need not at all wonder now that when he was beheaded while he was ſaying the *Pater Noſter*, his head went through with it, after its being cut off. This would hardly go down for a Miracle, when we have ſuch choice of ſo much better and plainer Miracles, related by thoſe *Anthentick Hiſtorians*, from whom

whom Mr. *Creſſy* and others have furniſhed themſelves with ſuch traſh.

Can any one deny it to be a great Miracle for a man to make a whole Basket full of broken Eggs whole again? Yet this *Capgrave* tells us St. *Swithun* did to the poor womans Eggs that were broken by his workmen, while he was building the Bridge on the Eaſt-ſide of *Wincheſter*; and this notable Miracle was performed only with making the ſign of the Croſs over them. Now I appeal to the conſcience of any man, whether we ever read that Chriſt or his Apoſtles did any ſuch thing? Or did ever Chriſt or his Apoſtles hang their garments upon the *Sun beams*; yet this was done, ſaith *Capgrave* by St. *Aldelm* in the *Lateran Church, and the beam of the Sun held his garment a long time:* which was kept for a Sacred Relick in the *Monaſtry* of *Malmsbury*. It had been a ſtranger thing if they had preſerved the *Sun-beam* too. But he was not alone in ſo ſtrange a Miracle; for St. *Cathro*'s Staff was ſupported by a *Sun-beam*, as *Colganus* tells us in his life. And that we may not be ſurprized at the ſtrangeneſs of this Miracle, in his Notes he refers us to the *Life* of St. *Deicola* and St. *Brigid*. In the life of St. *Deicola* I find, that being weary with travelling; he had a mind to put off his upper garment, which the ſervants

Id. f 278. 2.

Id. f. 10. 1.

Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum Hiber.* 6. *Martii. vit.* S. Cadroe n. 27.

seeing, ran as fast as they could to take it from him; he told them, *by no means; for he had a Servant that would be sure to keep it*; and behold a wonderful thing! he espyed a beam of the Sun coming in at a window, and came towards it, and laid his garment upon it, where it continued for two or three hours till he took it away. *Bollandus* relates the same story, and that it may not appear incredible, he saith *the same thing was done by St.* Goar, St. *Florentius*, and St. *Amabilis*, St. *Brigid* hung her garment upon the shadow which it seems was stronger than a Sun-beam, for her cloaths were heavy being dropping wet, and she mistook the shadow for a great Tree; (I am much afraid this was not the only mistake in this matter.) But however they hung there a drying, saith *Cogitosus* in the life of St. *Brigid*; whom *Bollandus* calls *an excellent Writer, and a man that Writ not only what he heard but what he saw.* (I would he had told us whether he had seen this Miracle or no.) And yet *Bollandus* thinks *he did not live in the same time, with* St. Brigid. But it may be this must pass for another Miracle that he should see things that were done before he was born.

Colganus 18. *Jan. vit. Dei colæ n.* 4.

Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum. Jan.* 18. *vit. Deicolæ c* 4.

Messingham *Florileg. Sanctorum Hibern. vit. l. Brigidæ c.* 3.

Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum Feb.* 1. *vit* 2. *St. Brigidæ c.* 2. *n.* 9.

Bolland. *Comment. præv. ad Acta* Brigi. *sect.* 2. *n.* 9.

We think the preservation of *Moses* when a Child was extraordinary; but what was that, to the miraculous preservation and

and education of St. *Kyned*? The Son, ſaith *Capgrave* of a Prince of little *Britain* by his own Daughter, who being delivered ſhe expoſed him to the River in a Wicker-Cradle, in which he was carried to the Sea and at laſt was caſt upon an Iſland called in the *Britiſh* tongue *Heniſweryn*; and on a ſudden the Sea fowl gathered about him, and by their Bills and Claws took him out of the water and carried him into the Air, and at laſt placed him upon a Rock, making a bed of Feathers for him and driving away Serpents and hurtful creatures, and ſhelter'd him from Wind and Hail and Snow, by joyning their wings together over him. While the Child lay thus, before nine days were paſſed, an Angel came to him, and brought him a Braſs Bell, and put the Childs mouth to it: and when the Child was hungry it turned it ſelf and ſucked of the Bell; which afforded nouriſhment ſweeter than any milk: and of ſo ſubtle a nature that he voided no excrements. Thus he continued till he could walk, and the ſwaddling cloaths in which he was wrapt, grew to him as bark to a Tree juſt as he grew. Afterwards a wild Doe came twice a day and filled the Bell with Milk, thus he continued eighteen years, being taught to read by an Angel. But although he changed his place yet ſtill he continued an Eremitical life: Capgrave f. 205.

once St. *David* desired him to go to a Council with him, he excused himself because of his deformity; St. *David* prayed for the cure of it, and he was heal'd, St. *Kyned* prayed for the return of it, and he was as bad as ever. This Miracle *Alford* relates, although he thinks, *the Writers of his Life have exceeded a little too much in his Miracles.* But to my mind St. *Kyneds* sucking of a Bell, was not so strange as St. *Berachs* sucking St. *Froegius* his ear; which *Colganus* very gravely relates. *No sooner was St.* Berach *born but St.* Froegius *his Uncle took care of him and told his Mother, God was able to bring him up without the help of Milk; and he gave him his right ear to suck, by which he was as plentifully nourished as if he had sucked all the while at his Mothers breast.* If *Capgrave* had had the trimming of this story, he would have added that this was *sweeter than any milk.* *Colganus* (as he had reason) is very angry with those that say St. *Froegius his ear gave milk, for although,* saith he, *it were possible for God to make his ear give milk, yet it is not probable, because other ways might serve as well for his nourishment.*

Alford *Annals Eccles. A. D. 519. n. 3.*

Colganus *ad 15 Jan. in vit. St.* Berach. *n. 4.*

We read not of any Miracles wrought by Christ himself, till he entred upon his Preaching; but these Saints began very early and some of them held out to a mighty Age; for St. *David* lived to 147. St. *Fin-*

tan

tus to 125. St. *Mochaius* to 150. and St. *Cathubius* as long, St. *Finnian* to 180. St. *Kentigern* 185. but St. *Kieran* for 300. years, saith the Author of his life, near 300. saith the Lesson upon his day, St. *Abban* 300. St. *Mochteus* 300. ***In all which time he neither spake an idle word nor eat fat meat***, so the Author of his Life saith; but the old Verses cited by *Colganus* say, ***That in all that time he neither spake nor eat***; and others that speak more moderately, say, ***That in one hundred years he eat nothing:*** A pretty reasonable fast for any man! But to be sure much exceeding that of Christ himself: but that is not our present business; which is, to shew how very early they began to work Miracles. It is hardly conceivable they should begin sooner than in their Mothers Wombs; and while St. *Fursey* was in his Mothers Womb, he very severely rebuked his Grandfather for thinking to condemn his Mother, without any reasonable cause. *Colganus* confesses that this was a very great Miracle, but justifies it as the Author of his Life doth from Gods omnipotency. Yet *Bollandus* would fain in his Notes, have it softened and made more probable, *viz.* ***That a voice was heard to that purpose, and that some thought the Child spake in his Mothers Womb***; but he confesses the ancient *Mss.* are express that it was the Child; & the

Colganus 5. Martii p. 466. 16. Martii. p. 627.

24. Martii. p. 734.

V. Fursæi 16. Jan. apud Colg. n. 5.

Bollandus not. in vit. S. Fursæi 16. Jan. c. 2. n. 7.

hymns of the Church are plain to that purpose,

Matris intra viscera
Loquens, avi nequioris arguebat scelera.

Which were Sung upon his day, saith, *Arnoldus Wion*, from whom *Bollandus* had them: and we hope they were more honest than to praise God for that which they did not believe. Was St. *John Baptist*'s leaping in his Mothers belly to be compared to this? But they have a better instance to parallel this, *viz.* *St.* Nicholas *his fasting Wednesdays and Fridays while he sucht his Mothers breasts*; or which is all one *sucking but once on those days*, which I suppose being after *Vespers* made it a good fast: but methinks in honour to the Church of *Rome*, *Saturday* should have been one of his *Fasting-days*. But commend me for devotion to St. *Mochteus* that leapt in his Mothers Womb at *Canonical hours*; a good presage certainly of his future devotion. For a Child new born, scarcely any went beyond St. *Cathaldus*, for assoon as he was born he struck his head against a piece of Marble, and the Marble yielded like wax to him, and when his Mother expired at her delivery, the Child raised up himself without any help, and embracing his Mother in his Arms he raised her to life again. Was not this a towardly beginning for

Wion. Lig. vitæ l. 3. p. 26.

Vit. S. Farelli c. 2. n. 8.

Colganus 24. Martii v. S. Mochtei n. 1.

Colganus 8 Martii p. 544. v. St. Cathaldi n. 1.

for a Child? Had not St. *Alred* a very *clear complexion*, whose face *Arch-deacon William* in *Capgrave* saw shining like the Sun, with such bright beams, that his hand gave a shadow being held towards him; from whence he had reason to think he would prove an extraordinary man in his time. It seems to be now no great matter that S. *Aldelm* should make a Child to speak at nine days old, to vindicate the Innocency of the Pope; and although Mr. *Cressy* speaks doubtfully of this matter; yet surely there is no more reason to question it than many other Miracles related by him and his Authors, for it was read in the Lessons upon his day. *Capgrave* saith that St. *Ninian* commanded a Child who was but few days old to declare who was his own Father, the Child presently obeyed and pointed with his finger, and openly said such a man was his Father. Was not this an early sign of a wise Child! But never was there certainly a more early Confessor than St. *Romwold* of whom *Capgrave* relates, that being newly born he cryed out he was a Christian, and presently made a most elaborate confession of his Faith hardly short of that of *Athanasius* in its exactness in the point of the Trinity; but he was too ripe to hold long, for after three days he dyed. St. *Kieran* in his Childhood raised by his Prayers a Bird half killed

Capgrave f. 11.

Id. f. 10.

Vit. S. Aldelm *apud Surium* 25. *Maii.*

Cressy's *Church Hist.* l. 19 c. 12. n. 4.

Portisor. Sarish. 25. *Maii, tect* 3.

Capgrave f. 242.

Id. f. 275. a

Colganus *vit. S. Kierani* 5. *Mart. n.* 3. killed by a Kite; but St. *Kentigern* (being perhaps a year or two older) exceeded him, for when his School-fellows had pulled off a *Robin-red-breasts head*, he took the head and put it to the body and by his Prayers and the sign of the Cross raised the Bird to life again, so not only *Capgrave*, but *Bollandus* relate the story; and *Bollandus* in his preface particularly vindicates *Capgrave's* Authority with relation to the life of St. *Kentigern*.

Capgrave f. 208. Bolland. *Acta sectorum Jan.* 13. p. 816. Bolland. *præf. gen.* c. 1. *sect.* 7.

Are not these now pregnant instances how much these Saints exceeded Christ and his Apostles in their beginning to work Miracles so much before them?

But withall we never find that Christ and his Apostles wrought such trifling Miracles. To pass over the Resurrection of *Robin-red-breast*, methinks it was an occasion somewhat with the meanest to save School-boys from whipping, as *Capgrave* tells us some of his Saints have done, witness the Boy at *Canterbury* that ran for Sanctuary to St. *Adrians* Tomb at St. *Augustins*, whither his Master pursued him; and resolved to whip him, till a white Dove appeared on the top of the Tomb, and by stretching out his neck and wings begged pardon for him; then the Master fell uppon his knees to the Saint and confessed his fault; and so the Dove flew away.

Capgrave f. 1.

But

But he escaped better now than at another time, (if he were the same Master) when whipping the boy however that had fled thither, his arm was held stretched out all that day till he fell upon his knees to the boy, and asked him pardon and by his intercession he recovered the use of his Arm. The truantly boys that ran to St. *Bregwins* Tomb for sanctuary from their Masters, became invisible to them there, if *Capgrave* may be believed. A boy that ran to St. *Erkenwalds* Tomb from St. *Pauls* school got his lesson by Inspiration there; and when his Master pursued him thither, he repeated it exactly to him. But never was poor Master so punished for whipping boys, as he was that presumed to chastise those that had fled to S. *Ermenilds* Tomb; for the next night the Saint appeared to him, and bound him hand and foot stronger than with Irons, so that he could not move himself; next morning he sends for the boys, begs them pardon and desires them to intercede for him; and being carried to the Tomb of the Saint, he was restored to his former condition. Were not these very important occasions for God to imploy the power of miracles upon?

Id. F. 43.

Id. F. 134.

Id. F. 135.

The nature of this last punishment inflicted on the Schoolmaster, puts me in mind of St. *Ivo's boots* which he put the poor *Abbot* of

Ramsey

Ramſey into for not believing the Carpenter *Ezi*'s revelation concerning his body; the whole ſtory is worth reading as Mr. *Creſſy* relates it in his *Church-Hiſtory*. *This St.* Ivo *was born in a City of* Perſia *called Frianeot* (no matter whether *Ptolemy* or others mention it, for who can tell but ſuch a City might have been in the world and they not know it?) *that his Father was a Prince there named* Yomos, *and his Mother* Iſitalia, *and his only Brother* Athanatos (a *Perſian* word doubtleſs) *lived an Eremitical life in a certain wood and was illuſtrious for miracles.* (But how came theſe particulars to be ſo well known to our Monks in *England?* I ſuppoſe *Ezi* informed them all by the viſion of St. *Ivo*) Well, *but St.* Ivo *was elected Biſhop in the Town where he was born and not long after tranſlated to the Archiepiſcopal See of the City* Aſitanea, (A huge City in *Perſia* I ſuppoſe) *Which See he governed with great ſanctity and prudence, till a terrible famine ſo deſolated the Country that Parents were compelled to devour their Children. By reaſon whereof St.* Ivo *with eleven more devout companions, forſook that region and paſſing through many Countries at laſt came to* Rome: (Now what a croſs thing is this? that *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, *that he left his Country to avoid the pleaſures which his rich*

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory l. 13. c. 9. n. 3.

Malmsbury F. 292.

Biſhop-

Biſhoprick afforded him; that he only had three companions and never mentions his coming to Rome; but Mr. *Creſſy* had the wit to take no notice of this, although *Alford* had not.) *At* Rome, *by the Popes advice they ſevered themſelves, and St.* Ivo *by divine diſpoſition together with his Nephew* Sithius *and his Kinſman* Inthius (two pretty *Perſian* names) *and ſome others came into* Britany. (Obſerve it good Reader, the *Pope* ſent St. *Ivo* into *Britain*; for fear, we ſhould derive our Chriſtianity from the *Aſian* Biſhops; and I aſſure thee *Alford* not a little glories in this.) *And at laſt died in a Town called* Slepe, *at three miles diſtance from* Huntington, *ſerving God all his days in watching, faſting and prayers.* But all this while, not one word is ſaid of any acquaintance this good Biſhop had all his life time in *England*; not one perſon is pretended to have known who he was, or whence he came till the Carpenter *Ezi*'s viſion; therefore we come to that. Mr. *Creſſy* confeſſeth *his ſacred body remained ſeveral Ages in the place of his burial, in ſo much as his memory was loſt in that place. But at laſt* A. D. 1001. *a certain husbandman as he was plowing the ground light upon his Tomb, which being taken up and opened, the Body of a Biſhop in his Pontifical ornaments was ſeen in it. The night following*

Alford *Annal.* A D. 600. *n.* 7.

Id. ib. n. 1, 2.

following the ſame Biſhop St. Ivo *appeared in a very reverend form and with great brightneſs to a Carpenter called* Ezi *and told him who he was; commanding him to ſignifie to* Ednoth *Abbot of* Ramſey *that he ſhould tranſlate his and his companions bodies from thence to his Monaſtery. But the poor man not having the boldneſs to relate this viſion, he appeared to him the ſecond time repeating the ſame commands: which he ſtill neglecting to perform, at the third apparition the Biſhop ſmote him on the ſide with his croſier, telling him that the pain of that ſtroke ſhould remain, till he had performed what had been enjoyned him. The man awaking preſently after, found as grievous pain in his ſide as if a ſword had pierced it. Thus was he compelled to declare his viſion to the Abbot, which as ſoon as he had done he was freed from his pain. But the Abbot would give no credit to what the man told him, but calling him clown and fool, ſaid, muſt we tranſlate and venerate the aſhes of I know not what Cobler? the night following the holy Biſhop appeared to the Abbot, and ſaid, riſe quickly, for I whom thou ſcornfully calledſt Cobler have brought thee here a pair of Boots that will laſt a good while. Theſe thou muſt put on and wear for my ſake. Having ſaid thus, he ſeemed to draw on his Legs a pair of Boots*

with care to make them ſit ſmooth and handſom. Preſently the Abbot waking felt ſuch horrible pain in his Legs, that he was not able to walk or ſtand, and fifteen years did he remain under this infirmity (of Boots.) *By this miracle*, ſaith Mr. *Creſſy*, *the Sanctity of the Holy Biſhop was approved.* A wonderful diſcovery of Sanctity! to revenge himſelf ſo ſeverely upon the Abbot for his reaſonable ſuſpicion of an impoſture; methinks however a pair of ſtrait ſhoos might have been fair puniſhment at firſt for calling him Cobler; and if thoſe had not convinced him, he might then have proceeded to the *Scotch* ſeverity of the Boot. But we are to conſider that a great deal depended upon the honour of the Body that was to be tranſlated; for the reſort would be made accordingly; and therefore a long gout upon an old Abbot might by an eaſie metaphor paſs for St. *Ivo*'s *boots*. I wonder Mr. *Creſſy* omitted another miracle wrought, no doubt, *in approbation of the Sanctity of the Holy Biſhop* too; for in my opinion the ſtory of St. *Ivo*'s *girdle* is as good as of his *boots*; for which we muſt underſtand that theſe Saints were very ſevere towards all perſons who neglected their Feſtival days; now it ſo happened, that a Monk commanded his ſervants to work upon his day, and ſpake not very kindly of the Saint. Capgrav. F. 200.

(It

(It may be queſtioning whether ever there was any ſuch Saint or no; or calling him *Girdler*, as we may think by his puniſhment.) to him St. *Ivo* appeared and asked him if he knew him, he trembling, anſwered no. The Saint replied *I am* Ivo *whom thou lately ſaidſt thou didſt not know and hinderedſt men from keeping my Feaſt*; *Here, take this girdle and by this token remember me*; and girding it about him he left him. The Monk waking found himſelf as it were girt with an Iron girdle, and was under horrible pains and diſeaſes till by viſiting St. *Ivo*'s monument he recovered his health. Thus, theſe miracles end in ſome honour to a ſhrine or monument, which may reward the *Monks* well for the uſe of their inventions to delude the people. But did ever Chriſt or his Apoſtles teſtifie their ſanctity by giving men ſuch *Boots* and *Girdles* as St. *Ivo* did? Did they ever vindicate the honour of their Feſtivals in ſuch a manner? It's true, when perſons openly lied and cheated, they were once ſtruck dead upon the place; and when others profaned the holy inſtitution of the Lords ſupper they were ſeverely puniſhed; but what is this, to the queſtioning the body of ſuch an unknown Saint as St. *Ivo*? What is this, to the hindring men from keeping his Feſtival? Were the other ſuch fit ends for God to imploy

imploy his power in working miracles as these? Could any think, the asserting the Apostolical power, or the holiness of Christs own institutions were fit to be compared with the owning of the body of St. *Ivo*, or making servants work upon his holy-day? If they do, they must have different apprehensions of the Christian Religion, from what some would seem to have in the Church of *Rome*. But to proceed,

Was ever any thing done by Christ or his Apostles like the turning a pound of butter into a bell? yet this is related, from the same storehouse from which they had St. *Ivo*'s *Boots* and *Girdle*, viz. *Capgrave*, who saith that St. *Oudocems* Bishop of *Landaff* travelling, desired of some women that were washing butter, a dish of water; they told him they had no dish but their butter; the Bishop took their butter, and made it in the fashion of a bell and drank out of it, and it remained in that fashion as a *Golden Bell*, and was perserved as a sacred Relique in the *Church* of *Landaff* for a Testimony of the miracle. Did ever any of Christs Apostles meerly with breathing, and the sign of the Cross change a person from looking young and fresh to be grayhaired and wrinkled; yet this Mr. *Cressy* delivers (as he saith) *from our more ancient and credible Historians* concerning

Capgrav. *vita St.* Oudocei *F.* 258.

Cressy's Church-History *l.* 28. *c.* 2. *n.* 4, 7.

St. *Modwenna*: *who intending to retire appointed Abbeſs over her Monaſtery a certain virgin named* Orbila; *who by reaſon of her youth and beauty being in great apprehenſion to undertake that charge*; *She binding her with her own girdle, and making the ſign of the Croſs upon her, preſently all her hair became white, and her Countenance wrinkled as if ſhe had been very aged, yet without any diminution of her health or ſtrength.* Mr. *Creſſy* omits a neceſſary circumſtance of this miracle, *viz.* that *ſhe breathed upon her*; for who can tell but there might be as great vertue in that, as in the ſign of the Croſs or her girdle? When was there ever ſuch a miracle ſeen in the Apoſtolical times, as in the letting down the bolt of a door to St. *Neotus*? For as Mr. *Creſſy* obſerves *he was of a ſtature ſo very low and dwarfiſh, that in celebrating Maſs he was obliged to make uſe of an iron footſtool*; Now, ſaith *Capgrave*, ſome great man knocking haſtily at the door, St. *Neot* endeavoured to open it and the bolt was much too high for him, and behold a miracle! the bolt was let down to his girdle that he might with eaſe open it. Had it not been as well for the door to have opened it ſelf by a miracle? but then St. *Neot* would have had no hand in it. Did ever any of them revenge perjury as St. *Quintin* did? who pulled a man

Capgrav. F. 235.

Creſſy's Church-Hiſtory l. 29. c. 2. n. 3.

Capgrav. F. 235.

man by the nose in the night for it, and as *Capgrave* saith, the next morning touching his nose, it dropt off into the bason where he was washing; or as St. *Egwin?* when an old man sware by his beard, that the land was his own, which belonged to St. *Egwin*, immediately his beard fell to the ground, and so he lost his land and his beard too. Did ever any of them curse a whole Trade in a Town as St. *Egwin* did: for St. *Egwin*, we must know, went often from his Monastery of *Evesham* to *Alu-ceſter* to preach to the people; which place was very full of Smiths, who beat their Anvils so loud while he was preaching, that he could not be heard; upon that he solemnly cursed the Trade of Smiths in that place, so that saith *Capgrave*, never did any one thrive by it since. Did ever any of them bind themselves in Iron Chains for their sins and go in Pilgrimage in them as the same St. *Egwin* did from *England* to *Rome?* (as Mr. *Cressy* relates the story from *Ancient Authors*.) And were any of them assured of the pardon of their sins by such a miracle as he was; *viz. As soon as he had fastned his chains he cast the key which locked them together into the river* Avon *publickly protesting that he would never esteem himself secure of the pardon of his sins, till either the key were restored to him, or the chains unlooſed*

Id. F. 123.

Id. ib.

Cressy's Church-History *l. 21. c. 3. n. 4, 5.*

by a power ſupernatural. And now behold the miracle. While he was at his devotion in the Church of St. Peter *in* Rome, *his ſervants going to the rivers ſide to buy proviſion for their maſter, they found in a fiſhes belly the key which locked his chains, and then in the preſence of a great multitude he unlocked the ſaid chains, perceiving* ſaith Mr. *Creſſy, that ſuch was the divine will and mercy:* or rather the cunning of one of his ſervants who might very eaſily convey the key from *England* to *Rome* to gain reputation to his Maſter by ſo glorious a miracle; as it ſeems this made him eſteemed a Saint at *Rome.* If it were in his return between *France* and *England*, as *Malmsbury* ſaith, the miracle is juſt as great as it was, only I obſerve that they ſometimes differ in the circumſtances of their Relations.

We read indeed that one of the Apoſtles was *taken up into the third Heaven and heard unutterable things there*; but I dare ſay, none of them ever dreamt of ſeeing the Angels *ring Bells in Heaven to the praiſe of the Bleſſed Trinity* as St. *Walſtan* did. *Pythagoras* his Muſick of the Spheres was nothing to the *Peal* of *Angels* which he heard: which ſo raviſhed him that he gave over his work, and called to his Companion *to come to him and devoutly to ſet his own foot upon his and believe*

Cangrav. F. 296.

believe stoutly and he should see the Heavens opened, & the Angels ringing Bells to the praise of the ever Blessed Trinity. Methinks the *Monastery* of *Barking* had been a good place to have seen this ringing of the Angels; for over that *Capgrave* saith, *the Heavens are seen open after a peculiar manner.* It was a thing which frequently happened, to hear Angels singing at the death of their Saints: so St. *Munis* heard them singing all night about a tree where St. *Patricks* Leper lay dead, saith *Jocelin* in the *life* of St. *Patrick*; St. *Ænguſſius* saw as many about another body as reached up to Heaven who were all singing over the body; but they accompanied the body of St. *Abbanus* to his burial, with rays of light instead of Torches as bright as the beams of the Sun. But this was not all, for the Angels were extraordinarily serviceable to them upon all occasions, above any thing we read concerning Christ or his Apostles. I shall not mention their bare appearances, for it was as common for Eremites and such Saints to see Angels, as for us to converse one with another: but the Angels brought wood for St. *Moedoc* for the building of a Church, till one of his Disciples against his command was resolved to see them, and he espied a multitude of beautiful young men with golden locks to their shoulders, but from that time a voice

Capgrav F. 180. vit. Hildelithæ.

Jocel. in vit. St. Patricii c. 113.

Colgan. Acta Sectorum Hibern. p. 579. 10. Martii.

Colgan. 31. Jan. vit. S. Mailoci n. 53.

was heard forbidding them to bring any more; otherwiſe the whole Church would have been built by Angels. Then was St. *Mochoc* hard put to it, not being able to procure an exquiſite workman; he takes an unskilful fellow and bleſſeth his hands upon which he was enabled to finiſh the work which the Angels began. They helped St. *Finnian* to to bring Timber from the Wood, both more and quicker than others of his Brethren; and *Cathmaelus* heard the noiſe of Angels about him. An Angel helped St. *Senanus* to grind in a Mill for a whole night together: Several of them ground at the Mill for *Eugenius* and *Tigernachus* while they were reading. An Angel carried a letter from St. *Finnian* to St. *Columba*, who upon receiving it went ten days journey in one day: Another brought a Candle to St. *Abban* in a dark night to conduct him in his way, and when he had done, took it of him again. Many other ſuch offices we read they performed to theſe Saints, of which we read nothing in the lives of Chriſt or his Apoſtles. I Suppoſe it was an Angel that tolled St. *Godric*'s Bell for him, to prayers, for they tell us it was miraculous; and when others took notice of this miracle, he prayed *that he alone might hear it*, which happened accordingly. But it is no wonder the Angels ſhould toll the Bell,

Id. 23. Feb. *vit. S.* Finnian. *n.* 6.

Id. 8. Martii *n.* 13 *v.* Senan.

Id. 1. Mart. *p.* 438.

Id. 23. Feb. *p.* 404.

Id. 16. Martii *n.* 31.

Capgrav. F. 160.

Bell, when the Bleſſed Virgin taught him to ſing. For ſhe appearing one night to him at her own altar, came and laid her hands upon him; and afterwards begun a Tune before him as Maſters uſe to do to Scholars. The very Song is extant in *Capgrave*, which contained only an invocation of her ſelf; which no doubt ſhe extreamly deſires. In my judgement it was a great kindneſs the Angels did to St. *Finan* when thy gave him three round ſtones, which ſerved him inſtead of Candles in the night, to read, and write, and pray by all his days. But the Author of his life in the late Jeſuits Collection tells us that the fingers of St. *Finians* left hand ſerved him inſtead of candles; which a poor country fellow eſpying loſt one eye for his curioſity. But St. *Patricks* fingers did mightily outſhine his, for in a very dark night his Coachman not being able to find his Horſes, St. *Patrick* out of great compaſſion towards him, lifts up the fingers of his right hand; and behold, ſaith *Jocelin a very wonderful thing*! his five fingers did ſhine like the beams of the Sun, and turned darkneſs into light and night into day. This I confeſs was very extraordinary; but in another kind St. *Elſleda*'s fingers did well, when, we are told, ſhe aroſe one night to prayers and her Candle going out, the fingers of her right

Capgrav. F. 168.

Acta ſanctorum 16. Martii n. 7.

Jocelin *vit.* St. Patricii c. 137.

Capgrav. F. 126.

hand did give such a light, as not only served her self, but all about her to read by. And can any of these be paralleld by any miracles done by Christ or his Apostles? These are a sort of *New Lights* beyond what any of our *Fanaticks* have pretended to.

Now if we consider the miracles done either by Christ or his Apostles we shall find that these Legendary Saints did very much exceed them in the same kind of miracles. Our Saviour we read only fasted forty days and forty nights; we have met with one already that fasted a hundred years: but if that seem too *Romantick*, we shall find some of them fasting the same time of forty days but with the addition of a very pretty circumstance that they grew fatter and taller by it. So we read in *Colganus* of St. *Moedoc*; but St. *Aidanus* in *Capgrave* out pitched him, for he fasted fifty days and fifty nights and grew fatter also. St. *Bartholmew* of *Durham* for seven years and a half before his death drank nothing; if he had not eaten in that time neither, it had been a perfect miracle.

Colgan. 31. Jan. n. 36.

Capgrav. in St. Aidan. p. 3.

When our Blessed Saviour Preached he did not make a mountain on purpose but went up into the next at hand; but when St. *Kentegern* was to Preach in *Wales* (though there was no want of mountains there,) a mountain rose up under his feet, which abideth to this

[1] *Acta Sanctorum* Jan. 13. c. 6. n. 33.

this day, ſaith *Capgrave*; *Bollandus* in the notes on his life, tells us, *the ſame is ſaid of St.* David, but with more particular circumſtances, thus related by Mr. *Creſſy*; *when all the Fathers aſſembled aſſigned St.* David *to Preach, he commanded a Child which attended him, and had lately been reſtored to life by him to ſpread a napkin under his feet: and ſtanding upon it he began to expound the Goſpel and the Law to the Auditory. All the time that his Oration continued a ſnow-white Dove deſcending from Heaven ſat upon his ſhoulders; and moreover the earth on which he ſtood raiſed it ſelf under him, till it became a Hill, from whence his voice like a trumpet was clearly heard and underſtood by all, both near and far off. On the top of which Hill a Church was afterwards built, which remains to this day.* It ſeems St. *David* wanted St. *Columba*'s voice, which ſaith *Capgrave* when he was ſinging ſervice might be heard diſtinctly above a mile without the help of a Hill. Capgrav. F. 210. *Creſſe*'s Church-Hiſtory l. 11. c. 11. n. 2.

It is true *that Chriſt did cure the lame and the blind and cleanſed the Lepers:* but was ever any withered arm cured by him as the womans was at the Tomb of St. *Erardus* which made ſuch a noiſe at its firſt ſtretching, as was heard in every corner of the Church? Were ever Lepers cleanſed by Chriſt or his Apoſtles Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum Hibern. p.* 27.

Apoſtles in ſuch a manner as is related of ſome *Iriſh* Saints, by *Bollandus*, and *Colganus*? St. *Munnu* in the life of St. *Mochua* in *Bollandus*, wanting the daily converſation of an Angel, which he had before, fell into diſcontent about it; the Angel told him he muſt be humbled, St. *Munnu* deſired that he might have a leproſie for his humiliation; his prayer was heard, and he had it for ſeven years; at the end whereof the Angel came to him, and told him he ſhould go to St. *Mochua* to be cured. St. *Mochua* was not preſently to be found, in the mean time St. *Munnu* imployed himſelf in ſweeping together the lice that drop't from him and putting them in their places again; (according to the rule of *Frier Bartholmew* of *Durham* that men muſt have *naſty bodies* if they would have *pure ſouls*) at laſt S. *Mochua* comes to him and embraces him and by licking him all over perfectly cured him; but the hardeſt part of his task was *the ſucking his noſtrils* which he did three times and drew out three tough pieces of phlegm, and (behold a miracle indeed!) theſe *three pieces* were turned into *three talents of Gold*, which were preſerved in his cabinet like three Golden Apples. I confeſs *Bollandus* ſeems a little ſtartled at theſe miracles, but he ſaith *they were uſual in that ſimple and holy nation as may appear by the lives*

Acta Sanctorum 1 Jan. c. 3. n. 6, 7.

Capgrav. F. 32.

Bolland. 1 Jan. p. 45.

lives of other Saints. I wonder the *Jesuit* durst make a reflection on the whole nation for the sake of the folly of the Monks. *Colganus* in the life of St. *Fechinus* relates, that he put *Dermitius* his *Queen* upon this nasty way of curing a leprosie; and the same miracle followed; for the *phlegm* was turned into *pure gold*, with part of which he purchased land for his Church, and the other he put into his staff to be preserved to posterity. This story is three times related in *Colganus*, that he might be sure to preserve the memory of it. But we must not suppose our own *Country Monks* to come behind the *Irish* either in *simplicity*, or this faculty of working miracles: for *Capgrave* tells us that St. *Egbin* the *Monk* used the same way of cure to a leprous person; but instead of Gold (O horrible blasphemy!) that which he suckt out proved to be the very flesh of the Son of God. For he found this leprous person to be Christ himself, and while he held him by the sides he looked up and saw the Heavens opened, and he saw a Cross upon his head and Angels coming to meet him; and as he raised himself up into the air, he spake very kind words at parting. But what will not these men say to make the nasty Monks workers of miracles!

Colgan. 20 Jan. vit. Fech. c 13. & p. 151.

Capgrav. F. 122.

It was propheſied that in the days of the Messias *the Wolf and the Lamb should lie down*

down together and the Leopard and the Kid, i. e. that the Christian Doctrine should be the most effectual means to remove animosities out of the World and to bring in universal Peace and Charity. But the *Monks* who wrote the Lives of these Saints fearing they should in any thing come behind what is said of Christ himself; have filled their Legends with prodigious stories about the taming of Wolves, and the power they had over all sorts of living creatures. It was very common with these Saints when the Wolfes had devoured the Calves to make them come and suck the Cows in their places for fear they should lose their milk. So the Author of the life of St. *Gerald* affirms that at his command the Wolf came and did his duty; *But after a while by the instinct of nature or rather by the motion of the Spirit of God* (saith the same Author) *the Wolf went to a hill and there called a Fawn to supply his room; by which means they got both the Doe and the Fawn to the Monastery; and from hence the name of the Monastery was called* Elitheria, Elith *in* Irish, saith he, *signifying a Doe.* St. *Fechinus* his mother set him to keep seven Cows and a Calf; but he being busie at his contemplation, a Wolf came and killed his Calf, and eat him up to the bones; his Mother chid him for his neglect; he presently runs

Colgan. 13. Martii n. 7. p. 600.

Colgan. 20. Jan vit. Fech. n. 7.

runs after the Wolf and calls to him as his acquaintance and friend, the Wolf presently submits, he takes him and tyes him to a hollow stone, whither the Cows came at their time to the Wolf as if he had been the Calf and gave down their milk as freely; which stone hath since done great wonders. Another time he was shrewdly mistaken, for instead of milking a Cow he went to a Bull, N. 9. and sadly complained he could get no milk, *but behold*, saith the Author of his Life, *a wonderful Miracle*! The Bull gave more milk than any Cow of them all. And for this, he appeals to Gods omnipotency as *Baronius* doth for the *Chappel* of *Loreto*. Another life of St. *Fechinus* relates this Miracle concerning *Pastolus*, his Cook; but withal adds, *that the Bull afforded as much milk as all the seven Cows*. St. *Kentigern* wanting Oxen to plow with, commanded two Stags to come out of the Wood and do their work; the Stags presently obeyed, and when they had done their days work, returned to their pasture again. At last a Wolf seizes on one of them and devours him. Then St. *Kentigern* stretched forth his hand towards the Wood and said, *In the name of the blessed Trinity, I command the Wolf to come out and make me satisfaction*: and behold the Wolf came howling and fell at his feet. To whom the

Vit S. Fechini n. 36. p. 137.

Act a Sanctorum 13. Jan. vit. Kentig. c. 4. n. 20.

Saint

Saint thus ſpake, *Ariſe, and in the name of Jeſus Chriſt I command thee to go to plow in the place of the Stag*, which command the Wolf obeyed, and though he was unequally yoked made a ſhift to plow nine Acres and then went his way. But his ſowing was as miraculous as his plowing, for one time wanting grain he ſowed ſand inſtead of it, and at harveſt he reaped excellent Wheat. Theſe Miracles of St. *Kentigern* I the rather inſtance in, becauſe one being offended at the Miracles contained in the lives of theſe Saints as publiſhed by *Capgrave*; *Bollandus* offered him the Life of St. *Kentigern* for a tryal, and asked him what he diſliked in it, as he had publiſhed it, *When he had read it*, ſaith *Bollandus, he confeſſed if the lives of the Saints were ſo publiſhed they could not but pleaſe Learned men.* I deſire ſuch perſons to give their opinions by theſe inſtances; and let them then judge whether the *New Legends* be not altogether as bad as the *Old*.

N. 21.

Bolland. *praef. gener.* c. 1. ſect. 14.

When a Wolf had devoured a Calf belonging to St. *Modwenna* ſhe ſent her Boy with her ſtaff to him to command him to come to her; the Boy found the Wolf yet eating the Calf, and told the Wolf his errand: the Wolf followed him like a Dog, and fell down before her and begged pardon. She firſt chid him, and then bad *him keep that*

Capgrave *vit.* S. Modwennæ f. 234.

Cow

Cow out of danger all his days: which the Wolf punctually obſerved, and was ever after beloved by the Cow as if he had been a Calf. Yea all the Wolfs that were of his race kept the Cows there abouts for three miles compaſs; and *Capgrave* ſaith, *They are leſs than others and have white ſpots in their fore heads, and hurt no body.* When St. *Neots* Oxen were ſtollen, the Stags came and offered their Service to Plow for him; at which the Thieves were ſo aſtoniſhed that they brought his Oxen again; and ſome ſay that all the Stags that are deſcended from them have white marks where their harneſs was put on: but of this *Capgrave* ſaith, *he neither affirms it, nor becauſe of Gods omnipotency dares to deny it.* Capgrave *vit. S.* Neoti *f.* 240.

St. *Bernac* made uſe of Stags to draw his carriage when he pleaſed, and then ſent them back to their Forrage: he committed his Cow daily to the keeping of a Wolf, which led her out and brought her home every day. The King of *Wales* ſends to St. *Bernac* to provide him a ſupper; he returns a rude anſwer, (as any man but one of their Saints would have thought) that he owed him not ſo much ſervice, the King being angry ſends his ſervants, who chopt his Cow to pieces; but they could never make the water hot wherein the meat was to be boyled; the King then ſubmits *Id. vit. S.* Bernaci *f.* 37.

ſubmits and very humbly ſues for pardon; then St. *Bernac* raiſes his Cow although cut to pieces, and commits her to the Wolf again; and the Monk being in a good humour (as it was dangerous to Princes for them to be otherwiſe) invites the King to ſupper, and having nothing provided, he goes to the next Oak, and inſtead of leaves upon it he found as many Manchets as he had occaſion for, (the firſt Manchets I am confident that ever grew within a mile of an Oak;) then to the River he goes, which ran with Wine inſtead of Water, and all the ſtones in the River were turned into Fiſhes: the King requited him well for this cheap entertainment, by exempting his Lands from all Taxes. By theſe few inſtances, out of very many which might be produced, we ſee what ſubjection Wolfes and other creatures were in to them in thoſe days, for, ſo far as I can learn, this ſort of Miracles is now wholly ceaſed.

But we muſt not think that ſince they were ſo much civilized, they took no farther care of their education. For St. *Kieran* intending to make himſelf a Cell; the firſt Diſciple (ſaith the Author of his Life in *Colganus*) which came to him was a wild Boar, which brought him rods and hay with his Teeth towards his Cell, then came a Fox, a Brock, a Wolf, and a Doe: and *lived very ſtrictly under his Government*

Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum Hiberн.* 5. *Mart.* n. 7.

vernment, and obeyed him in all things like ſo many Monks; which are the expreſſions of the Author; and are juſtified by *Colganus* in his Notes, who appeals to the *State* of Innocency; the power and goodneſs of God, and other ancient inſtances of a like nature, and the obedience which the Birds and Beaſts ſhewed to St. *Francis*. But the Fox never thought I dare ſay, of any ſtate of Innocency, for he ſtole the good Abbots ſhooes, and wickedly forgetting his vow of obedience, carried them to his old Kennel; the Abbot knowing this ſends *another Monk*, viz. *the Brock* after him who finds the Fox ready to eat up the ſhooes; and with much ado brings him to penance; the devout Abbot lays open the greatneſs of his fault before the the Fox, (as certainly it was a great fault in a Fox to ſteal ſhooes with a deſign to eat them) who ſubmits to pennance and faſted till St. *Kieran* bid him eat: he faſted three days, ſaith *Cæpgrave*; who tells the ſame ſtory only calling the Abbot *Piranus*. St. *Abban* took ſuch pity towards the lean Wolves that came out of the Wood that he commanded them to take one of the Calves; upon which they made a preſent diſpatch of him; the Wolves came and gave him thanks for their good Dinner; the men that were ſet to keep the Cattel, finding a Calf deſtroyed by Wolves, made

Colgan. p. 464.

Cæpgr. vit. S. Pirani. f. 267.

Colgan. vit. S. Abbani 16. Martin. 5.

made very lamentable moan to St. *Abban*; at which he fell to his Prayers and signed the small remainders of the carkass with the sign of the Cross, and immediately skin and flesh covered the bones, and the Calf rose up just of the same colour and bigness he was of before: and the Author of his Life conjures us N. 8. to believe him *because all things are possible with God.* Another time as he was sitting in his Cell, the Wolves ran in among the Cattel, he cryed out, *let them alone*; and from that time the Wolves not only forbore to devour them, but lived very neighbourly with N. 28. them. Thus we see what command they had over these creatures; but in my mind St. *Colmans Flea* was as great a Miracle as any of these; for he had brought a *Flea* to stand just upon the line where he left, when he was called away from his Book, as he had done a Mouse and a Cock to wake him to Mattins; but as all these things are mortal, it happened that these three dyed, at which the good man was so disconsolate, that he sent to St. *Columba* to comfort him. *Colganus* uses such expressions about these miraculous attendances of the *Flea* and *the Mouse*, that I am ashamed to repeat them; calling them *The familiar condescensions and sportings of Christ with his people, which can only seem incredible to those, who do not consider how wonderful*

Colgan. *vit.* S Colmanni p. 244.

God

God is in his Saints. Are such as these indeed the *Favours and condescensions* of Christ? Pitiful souls! that can think such sopperies as these, the expressions of Gods wonderful goodness to his Saints. I confess some of their Miracles upon dead Cattel were extraordinary; as when St. *Mochteus* raised up a Calf after it was eaten; when St. *Moedoc* discovered a man that had stollen one of his Cattel, and afterward denyed it, by making the ear of it hang out of his mouth. And when St. *Patrick* made the Goat that was eaten cry out in the belly of the man who had stollen and eaten him. These were very wonderful things, and were they not delivered by such substantial and grave witnesses as these Legendary Writers, could hardly be believed. Colgan. 24. *Mart* n. 14. *Id.* 31. *Jan.* n. 55. Jocelin. *vit.* S. Patric. c. 27.

We read that Christ and his Apostles did frequently cast out Devils, and that, presently, publickly, without any Ceremony; but we never read they play'd such ridiculous pranks with one another, as the Devils and these Legendary Saints did. St. *Fintan* pull'd the Devil out of a man by putting three fingers in his mouth; and when he had done he confined him to a certain Rock, where for all that we know he continues to this day; for the Author of his Life saith, he did so till his time, and hurt no body. To defend Colgan 1. *Jan. vit.* S. Fintani n. 10.

this, *Colganus* flies to Gods omnipotency, which indeed makes every thing possible, but barely of it self proves nothing. *Frier Bartholomew* of *Durham* was hugely molested with the Devil in several shapes, as of a Mouse, a Lyon, and an Ape, sometimes leaping upon his Legs, sometimes being ready to
Capgr. f. 33. choak him, sometimes pulling him by the Cowle and casting him on the floor; at last after many tricks, the stout Frier takes a whole pot of holy water and throws it in his face, and then he sneaked away horribly
Id. f. 36. ashamed and confounded. St. *Benignus* was going one night to the Church of St. *Mary* in *Glastonbury*; upon the Bridge he espys a Devil making toward him; after some sharp words that passed between them the *Saint* caught hold of him with his left hand, and and with the staff in his right hand, beat him as long as he could stand over him; and at last threw him into a Well, out of which he never arose again: But no persons ever durst come near that Well since that time saith *Capgrave*. The Devil, watching his opportunity, stole from St. *Caradoc* the *Eremite*,
Capgr. f. 55. his girdle and purse; and when the good man was looking for them, he saw the Devil standing not far off with them fleering and laughing at him; but he soon made him restore them again. We must not forget St. *Dunstans*

holding

holding the Devil by the Noſe with a red hot pair of Tongs, which although Mr. *Creſſy* ſliely paſſes over, yet his friend *Alford* honeſtly remembers it; and ſpeaks of it as an heroical act in him (as no doubt it was) in the beginning of his converſion; a thing without parallel from the time of the Devils fall from Heaven to this day. No wonder it made him cry out, *What hath this bald pate done?* But for all that, the Devil would not give him over ſo; however he thought fit to change his ſhape into a Bear, St. *Dunſtan* finding who he was, falls upon him unmercifully with his paſtoral ſtaff, and never gave him over till he had broken his ſtaff upon him into three pieces. The Devil plaid forty tricks with St. *Goodric* which *Capgrave* relates; once he perſwaded him to dig for a treaſure, and when he had digged a little way, up roſe ſeveral little black boys with ſhorn heads, which mocked him and threw ſtinking pellets in his face: but from that time he would never mind money more: and therein he was too hard for the Devil. Another time, the Devil and he wreſtled ſo long together, that the combat endured nine hours; and the noiſe of it was heard by others abroad; for it ſeems they were at it both with words and blows. But at laſt St. *Goodric* ſaid, *with the help of the ſign of the Croſs, he feared the*

Capgr. f. 90. Alford. *Annales* A. D. 935. n. 4, 5.

Capgr. f. 92.

Id. f. 163.

F. 194.

Devils no more than he did the motion of the Air. Never was poor man ſo uſed by them as St. *Guthlac* in his retirement at *Crowland*; for they made nothing of binding him and toſſing him in the air, and throwing him into Lakes and Ponds, and whipping him till at laſt kind St. *Bartholomew* came to his aſſiſtance, and made them carry him ſafe again to the place where they took him up. Afterwards he had ſufficient revenge upon ſome of them, for ſome he made to ſerve him in his buildings, and one he ſhut up in a boyling pot. Thus we ſee how far in their ways of combating with the Devils, theſe Legendary Saints out did Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

Id. l. 170.

P. 172.

It was a ſmall matter with them to raiſe the dead as *Chriſt did Lazarus*; but when the head of *Beoanus* was cut off by his enemies, and not to be found, at St. *Ita*'s prayers *the head came poſting through the Air*, and ſtood by the body, and ſhe joyned them as faſt together, as if they had never been ſeparated, and in the ſpace of an hour he aroſe as ſound and vigorous as ever he was in his Life: and theſe things are written if we believe *Colganus* by *a faithful and antient Author.*

Colgan. 15. *Jan.* 2. 15.

P. 71.

But what ſhall we ſay to St. *Patrick*, of whom *Jocelin* ſpeaks that he raiſed up a man that had been dead one hundred years, being Grandfather to him for whoſe ſatisfaction he

Jocelin *vit.* S. Patricii c. 82.

was

was raiſed. *Jocelin* doth not expreſs the number of years, but St. *Ewin* in *Colganus* doth. *Jocelin* elſwhere mentions his raiſing one that had been *ten years dead*; but we are to remember by what inſtrument St. *Patrick* is ſaid to do theſe things, *viz. by the ſtaff of Jeſus*, which is ſuppoſed to have been delivered to him by one who ſaid he had it from Chriſt himſelf and was the very ſame he uſed upon Earth. c. 24.

c. 78.

Nothing more uſual with the *Iriſh Saints* to raiſe dead Cattel as well as Men, *viz.* Oxen and Horſes, Calves and Hogs, as may be ſeen abundantly in *Colganus*. One thing I have yet omitted which was very extraordinary; *viz.* that the Kings only Daughter being dead; they ſent to St. *Gerald* to raiſe her from the dead, who not only did it, but with this pleaſant circumſtance, to the great joy of the King, turned his Daughter into a Son at her Reſurrection. *Colganus* confeſſes *That nothing like this occurs in ſtory, and yet though it ſeem never ſo incredible, we ought not to queſtion Gods omnipotency*; eſpecially when the matter of fact is ſo ſtoutly atteſted. That which comes neareſt to this, is St. *Abbans* changing the ſex of a Daughter by Baptizing her; as the ſame *Colganus* reports it; methinks he need not have troubled himſelf to have heap'd together ſo many ſtories of natural transformations to

Colgan. 13. *Martii vit.* S Gerald l. 6.

Id. 16. *Martii vit.* S. Abban. n. 23.

make these credible. For they who can believe the other Miracles contained in the lives of the Saints published by him, need not stick at any thing in the World. They who could turn Acorns into Pork, and which is more a sword of Bacon into a Coulter to Plow with,

Id. 20. *Jan.* n. 31 42. *vit. St.* Fechini p. 136, 138.

both which he reports of one of their Saints; why should not they be able to transform one Sex into another? No men can tell what bounds to set to the power of such, who could bring a man from *Rome* to *Cassells* with the

Id. ib. n. 14.

sound of a Bell, as St. *Fechinus* did *Tyrechinus*; or that could feed a whole Army with one small measure of Grain for three days together; and which adds much to it he divided

N. 34.

that measure into two parts, whereof the one served for drink, as the other for meat: as is related of the same wonderful Saint. Next

Colgan. *Martii* p. 468. lect. 9.

to him is St. *Kierans* feeding a whole Army with a Cow and a Hog; as is contained in the Lessons to be read upon his day; but the Author of the English Martyrology, makes

Martyrolog. Anglic. ad 2. *Maii.*

the Miracle more considerable, for he saith, *That with three Cows he fed ten Armies for eight days.* I commend a man that will make something of a story when he hath it in his hands.

I shall mention but one thing more, *viz. Miraculous going upon the water as our Saviour did*; and then we shall see that these

Legendary

Legendary Writers will leave the honour of no one Miracle entire to our *Saviour* excepting that of his own Resurrection from the dead, which was the greatest of all others; and to which I do not find that any of them ever so much as pretended. But for passing upon the Waters in a miraculous manner, nothing was more common among them; and scarce any of them did it but exceeded our Saviour in some circumstance or other. The *Sea* of *Galilee* on which our *Saviour* walked was but one League over, and three in length; and upon this he walked only till he came to his Ship; but these Legendary Saints made nothing of passing from *Ireland* to *Britain* and so back again. St. *Fanchea* had a great mind to see her Brother *Endeus* at *Rome* and took three other Virgins with her, but commanded them to carry no manner of Utensils with them; but one of them transgressed her command and carried a brass Bason with her; when they came to the Sea-shore to pass for *England*, they missing a Ship to transport them, St. *Fanchea* spreads her Mantle upon the Sea, and walked boldly upon it dry foot, and she and her companions seated themselves upon it; and the wind blew to their minds but on a sudden one part of the Mantle sinks under water. Then St. *Fanchea* bid them confess their sins, which when she had done

Quæstion. elucid. terræ sectæ l. 7. c. 3.

Colgan. 1. *Jan. vit.* S. Fancheæ n. 8, 9.

who

who conveyed away the Baſon, the Saint takes the Baſon and throws it into the Sea, and they came ſafe to their port in *Britain*. But for all this, the Baſon comes again miraculouſly to her, for St. *Darercha* finding it on the ſhore of *Ireland*, and knowing how uſeful it would be to St. *Fanchea* for the waſhing her hands, beſeeched Almighty God (in ſo important a buſineſs) to imploy his power that it might be conveyed to her: ſhe tyed another to it and ſo diſpatched them by Sea, and both came ſafe to St. *Fanchea*; who ſends back her own to St. *Darercha* again the ſame way, and ſhe receiving it gave great thanks to God and his holy Angels. Was not Gods Almighty Power in the mean time very much at the beck of theſe female Saints? Whereas, if I be not deceiv'd, the Scripture never mentions any Miracle wrought by a Woman, no not even by the bleſſed Virgin her ſelf. St. *Fanchea* having found this eaſie paſſage returned to *Ireland* again after the ſame manner. St. *Schotinus* was paſſing over from *Ireland* to *Wales* walking upon the Sea, and he meets a Ship wherein St. *Barra* was, who asked him *why he walked upon the Sea? Schotinus* told him *he walked in a flowry Meadow*, and putting down his hand took up a handful of reddiſh Flowers which he caſt into his boſom to convince him. St. *Barra* on the other ſide took a Fiſh

Colgan. 2. *Jan. vit.* S. Schotini n. 5, 6.

a Fish out of the Sea which he threw towards *Scotinus* to prove it was the Sea; and *on both sides*, thus playing with Miracles, and *glorifying God in his wonders they departed from each other*, saith *Colganus*. Another time he passed over to St. *David* from *Ireland* on the back of a monstrous great Beast in the Sea, when he was sent in haste by the Angel to prevent St. *David*'s being poisoned. But it is no great wonder he should have so quick a passage by Sea, since *Colganus* saith of him, that having great business at *Rome* he was carried from *Ireland* thither in a day: and having dispatched his affairs, returned to *Ireland* in another day. St. *Moedoc* was one day troubled that he had not asked St. *David*, who was to be his Confessor in *Ireland*; upon this weighty business away he walks over the Sea towards *Wales*; an *Angel* met him upon the Sea and chid him for his boldness; he told the Angel he trusted to Gods omnipotency and goodness. But the Angel (who it seems by the story was a Heretick) further told him he went upon a needless errand, for he needed no Confessor besides God himself, but if he would have a witness of his Conscience, he should choose *Molua*. Upon this he returns. But he bethinks himself that his *Bell* was in *Britain*; (for we must know that the Saints in those times made great account of little tinkling

N. 7.

N. 8.

Colgan. 31. *Jan. vit.* Maidoci n. 20.

tinkling *Cymbals*; ſo we read of St. *Gildas* his *Bell* conſecrated by the *Pope*, and ſent to St. *Cadoc* for men to ſwear by, of St. *Iltuts* his Bell, and the Miracles done by it, of St. *Davids* Bell, and the curing the *King* of *Dublin* by applying it to his Cheek; but moſt wonderful was the Bell of St. *Furſeus*, that when St. *Cuanna* and his Diſciples were together in the Fields, came hovering over them like a Bird, and in token of Fraternity was ſent by him from *Peron* in *France*; which comforted them very much: theſe Bells the *Iriſh* have a ſtrange reverence for to this day, as *Colganus* tells us, and their moſt ſolemn oaths are by them.) And aſſoon as he had occaſion for his Cymbal, he ſaw it ſwimming over the Sea to him; which he receiving ſo miraculouſly gave God thanks for it. St. *Abban* put his ſtaff under his feet and marched into the midſt of the Sea; where he was met with a Troop of Devils, who threatened to drown him, but while he was ſinging Pſalms in the midſt of them, he heard the Angels ſinging who came to his relief; then an Angel told him he ſhould be the Patron of thoſe who paſs the Seas, and whoſoever entring into a Ship ſhould call upon him, and ſay ſuch an *Iriſh* ſaying there mentioned ſhould not be drowned: at which he more rejoyced than his own preſervation. Another time St. *Ibarus* had

Capgr. f. 54
Id. f. 188.
Colgan. 20. *Jan vit.* S Molaggæ n. 17.
Id. 4. *Feb. vit.* Cuannæ n. 12.
Id. p. 149.
Id. 16. *Martii vit.* S. Abbani n. 15.

had a mind to go to *Rome*, and St. *Abban* desired to go with him, but the other denyed him, while he was sleeping on the shore, the Ship puts to Sea, when he wakes he sees it sailing at a great distance, he prays and runs into the Sea after the Ship as fast as he could, and the Ship stood still, till he came into it, and then they came speedily and safely to *Britain*. St. *Moedocs* Chariot and Horses went over a great Lake as if it had been dry ground. This was pretty well (if it were in hot weather) but I am mistaken if St. *Walstans* Herse did not however very much exceed his Chariot, for *Capgrave* tells us, *That it not only went upon the surface of a very deep water, as if it had been firm ground; but the very prints of the wheels are said to appear to this day.* I confess I was somewhat fearful *Colganus* would have quite put down *Capgrave* or *John* of *Tinmouth*, or any other of our brave Writers of the lives of the Saints, but this one passage, puts me in good hopes of the *English* side. To have made the print of wheels remaining upon a firm ground for so many years would have sounded well; but to have them seen upon water and in the same place too (for else the impression would soon have been carried into the Sea) especially if it were a running stream, is a Miracle I think can hardly be parallel'd by *Colganus* himself.

N. 10.

Colgan. 51. *Jan.* n. 41.

Capgrave f. 296.

When

Capgr. vit. S. Modwennæ. f. 237.

When St. *Modwenna* and her three Virgin companions wanted a convenient paſſage from *Ireland* to *England*, an Angel did them an extraordinary kindneſs, ſaith *Capgrave*, for he cut off that ſnip of Land which they ſtood upon from the reſt, and removing it from its own place, conveyed them to *England* upon it, and when he had done he ſettled that Iſland near the Caſtle *Daganno*, in which St. *Modwenna* built a Church.

Capgr. vit. S. Decum. f. 86.

St. *Decumanus* paſſed over from *Southwales* to *Somerſetſhire* near *Dunſtar* on a bundle of rods; but St. *Bernac* went much beyond him, for he paſſed over the Sea from little *Britainy* to *Southwales* upon a piece of a Rock, which carried him on the ſurface of the water. This I think is ſomewhat beyond bare walking on the Sea; but *Colganus* hath ſomething to outmatch this, (as if they writ the Lives of the Saints for the whetſtone) for St. *Cuanna* and eight of his Diſciples ſtanding upon a Rock, were carried over the Sea to their own Country: which Rock was afterwards carryed to his Cell and he kept ſeven Lents upon it. St. *Hya* went ſomewhat eaſier upon a ſmall leaf ſhe ſaw in the Sea, and paſſed upon that from *Ireland* to *Cornwall*, ſooner than St. *Fingar* and all his companions could reach it. This not only is delivered by *Colganus*, but by St. *Anſelm*, and is publiſhed among his

Id. f. 37.

Colgan. 4. Feb. vit. S Cuannæ n. 7.

Colgan. 23. Feb. vit. Guigneri n. 12.

his works by *Ricardus*. St. *Patricks Altar* ought not to be forgotten, for its excellent faculty not only of ſwimming it ſelf but tranſporting others over the Sea: for when St. *Patrick* was to go over from *Britain* to *Ireland*, a certain Leper ſtanding on the ſhore begged earneſtly to be admitted into the Ship with him; the Seamen abſolutely denyed him. St. *Patrick* out of great pity threw over a ſtone Altar the *Pope* had given him, and bad the Leper ſit upon that: upon which he went ſafely to *Ireland* and landed the ſame moment with them in the Ship. *David Roth* in his *Elucidations* upon *Jocelin* confeſſes this to be ſomewhat an odd Miracle, becauſe, as he very Philoſophically ſpeaks, it is the nature of a heavy body to tend downwards; but ſtill this, and all other fabulous Miracles muſt be defended by Gods omnipotency. From which Argument we muſt believe every thing that is told us; becauſe *all things are poſſible with God*. How can we then queſtion St. *Barr's* riding in the Sea on St. *Davids* Horſe, as if it had been a Meadow? and his meeting St. *Brendan* upon the back of a Whale, and after they had ſaluted each other, and St. *Brendan's* ſaying, *Mirabilis Deus in ſanctis ſuis*, they parted, St. *Bar* Landed a Horſe-back in *Ireland*, and told this wonderful voyage to his Diſciples, and in memo-

Jocelin. *in vit.* S. Patricii c. 27.

David Roth *Elucid. in* Jocel. c. 1.

Co'gan. *vit.* S. David 1. *Martii* n. 18.

of

of this Miracle they ſet up a brazen horſe over the Image of St. *Bar.* The ſame Argument I ſuppoſe will defend the ſeven years voyage of St. *Brendan* in queſt of Paradiſe, which in all reſpects was the moſt extraordinary, that ever was made on the Sea. Which I ſhall briefly relate out of *Colganus*, *Capgrave*, and *John à Boſco*. St. *Barinthus* coming to viſit St. *Brendan*, was deſired by him to tell what wonders he had lately ſeen in the Sea; then St. *Barinthus* related how his Diſciple *Mernoc* had found an Iſland near a great Rock, called *The delightful Iſland*, whither he had drawn many *Monks*, and many wonders were done among them: which he underſtanding had a great mind to viſit them; after three days Voyage they came out to meet him like ſwarms of Bees, his coming being revealed to them before; they had no food but Apples and Nuts, and Fruits, and Herbs; after he had obſerved their orders and diſcipline, and viewed the Iſland, his Diſciple *Mernoc* led him to the ſhore, where a Boat lay ready into which they went and made Weſtward towards an Iſland which is called the *Land of Promiſe which the Saints are to inhabit in the laſt times*; after a ſudden darkneſs and a glorious light ſucceeding it, they came to the Iſland, where all Herbs were in flower, and all Trees bore Fruit, and no ſtones in it but Jewels;

Colgan. 22. *Martii* p. 721.

Capgr. *vit.* S. Brendani f. 45.

Joh. à Boſco *Bibliotheca Floriac. vitis* S. Machut c. 6, 7.

Jewels; after fifteen days travel they came to a great River running Eaſtward; while they were debating how to paſs it, one comes to them in great glory, and calling them by their names commanded them to fly back for it was not lawful for them to paſs over. While they were ready to ask him impertinent queſtions, he deſcribes to them the glory of the *Iſland*, that there was no need of meat, drink, or cloathing there; that there was perpetual day, for *Jeſus Chriſt was the light of it.* Aſſoon as this perſon had conducted them to their Boat, he vaniſhed out of their ſight: and they return'd to *the delightful Iſland*; and by the ſmell of their Garments their Brethren found they had been in Paradiſe; for that ſmell laſted above forty days (as it ſeems it uſed to do with thoſe who had been in *Paradiſe.*) Here *Barinthius* ſaith, he continued with his Diſciple two whole weeks longer, and although they neither eat nor drank all that time, yet they ſeemed as full as if they had been drunk with new Wine. After which time he took his leave of *the delightful Iſland*, and returned to his own Cell. St. *Brendan* was ſo ſtruck with admiration at this pleaſant ſtory, that *he fell upon his face and praiſed God for the great diſcoveries he had made to his People.* Forthwith St. *Brendan* reſolves upon a Voyage thither, and out

of 3000. Monks makes choice of 14. to go with him, he propoſes the keeping a faſt of 40. days, by three days at a time, to prepare themſelves for it. After this they prepare a ſmall veſſel for themſelves (for it ſeems they durſt not venture to walk on the Sea ſo far) very light the Veſſel was, and covered over with tanned hides, greaſing all the ſeams with butter (which the ancient *M. S.* in *Colganus* and *Capgrave* expreſly mention) thus taking in proviſion for 40. days, they ſet ſail, and had a good gale for 15. days, then they tugged at their Oars till they were all weary, which St. *Brendan* obſerving, bad them hoyſe their ſails and *let God drive them whither he pleaſed*; after 40. days, their proviſion was quite ſpent, and then they eſpied a high rocky Iſland in which after three days, they went on ſhore, and found a ſpacious hall furniſhed with beds, and ſeats, and water to waſh with, and all ſorts of utenſils of ſeveral metals, horſes bits, and horns done with Silver. Here one of the Brethren could not hold his hands, but although expreſly againſt St. *Brendans* command, he had ſecretly put up a ſilver bitt, but upon ſtrict examination he confeſſed his fault and threw it before them; then a little black Devil went out of him and railed at St. *Brendan* for diſpoſſeſſing him;

but

or he commanded him to hurt no one till the day of judgement. Being refreſhed here, they put to ſea again and came to another Iland, and after that to one called the *Paradiſe of Birds*, and for three months after ſaw nothing but ſea; at laſt they came to the *Iland of Silence* where the *Monks* never ſpake but at prayers; only the *Abbot* gave an account to the ſtrangers of their miraculous way of living; for every day they had twelve loaves ſent them from Heaven, and upon Feſtivals and Sundays twenty four, every one then having a whole loaf: which cuſtom had continued for eighty years with them ever ſince the dayes of St. *Patrick*, and they never felt cold or heat, and the lamps in their Church were kindled from Heaven and never diminiſhed with burning; the Altars and all the Veſſels were made of Chriſtal. When any of the Monks wanted any thing, they went and kneeled before the *Abbot*, but ſpake nothing. The *Abbot* by *Revelation* knew what they deſired, and writ down his anſwer in a Table-book, and in all that eighty years the Abbot proteſted to St. *Brendan*, he had not heard the voice of a man but only at prayers: and they had none of them felt any infirmity of body or mind ſince their coming thither. While they were thus diſcourſing a fiery Arrow came from Heaven

and kindled all the Lamps. Many other *Islands* they came at with great variety of accidents too many to be transcribed. As their meeting with a great Whale that cast out fire and water out of his mouth which St. *Brendan* killed by his prayers and gave them a third part of him to eat; (which I suppose by the fire and water that came out of him, they believed to be well sodden already) the strange Bird that brought them a bunch of grapes as big as apples; the Griffin that was destroyed by that Bird; the Glass Sea, in which they could see to the bottom, the Christalline Pillar that reached up to the Sky, covered with so thin a Canopy that their Ship passed through one of the holes of it, every side of which Pillar contained 1400. cubits; the *Island* of *Black-Smiths*, where they heard the Anvils as loud as thunder, which proved at last to be the suburbs of Hell, as they guessed by the howlings they heard and the stench they smelt: the *Island of* Paul *the Eremit*, where he lived for forty years without food, and was all hairy and as white as snow. In the seventh year, saith the life of S. *Machutes*, they came to a certain Island where they found a Tomb of a wonderful length; then because of the infidelity of some, who would hardly believe that there ever was a man of

Vit. St. Machut. c. 6.

that

hat prodigious height, St. *Brendan* and the
eſt deſired St. *Machutis* to raiſe him out of
is Grave, which when he to ſatisfie their
urioſity had courteouſly done, they asked
im who he was, he told them he was a Gi-
nt (which I ſuppoſe they were convinced of
y their eyes) and that his name was *Mil-*
us that he had lain in Hell ſo long, but now
e was a Chriſtian and deſired to be bapti-
ed; which was performed by St. *Machutis*;
f it were by dipping, it muſt be done in the
ea doubtleſs.

This Giant gave them the firſt diſcovery *c.* 7.
of the *Iſland* of *Paradiſe*, for once walking
n the Sea, he ſaid he had ſeen it, that it was
ompaſſed about with a Golden Wall and
et as clear as Chriſtal, but he being a Hea-
hen could ſee no entrance into it. They de-
red him to conduct them thither, he takes
he Cable of the Ship and walks into the Sea
nd drew the Ship after him (which as the
Author of St. *Machutis* his life well obſerves
s a thing one would hardly believe; but
ſoh. à Boſco thinks he hath fully cleared all in
is Notes to which I refer the Reader for his
further ſatisfaction) preſently a mighty
torm aroſe ſo that they were forced back to
he ſame *Iſland*, where the Giant died. While
hey were now debating about their return
ome, they beheld a ſmall Iſland in the Sea;

when they were landed upon it, they desire St. *Machutis* to say Mass and when they came to *Pater noster* they found the *Island* give a terrible *shrug*, which put them all into a fright; at last they discovered their Island to be a great Whale, or as the most judicious among them thought, the *Leviathan*; we may well think they made hast with their Mass, and wisht themselves well off of this new Island; upon St. *Machutis* his prayers *Leviathan did not sport himself in the waters* but stood still till the Monks were got clear of him, then they sung *jubilate* in their Ship, and as the Author saith, returned home. But he was certainly mistaken, for *Capgrave* saith, they did at last find the *Island* of *Paradise* and all things answerable to St. *Barinthus*'s description: and staid there forty days, and then a young man bid St. *Brendan load his Ship with Jewels and return home*; *for that Island was reserved for their successors when times of persecution should happen.* Now to prove the truth of this story, (for it seems there were some Infidels that presumed to question it,) *Colganus* reckons up abundance of the *Acts* of the *Saints* wherein it is mentioned, and not only so but a *Book* of *Litanies*, above 800. years old wherein *the companions of* St. Brendan *in seeking the Land of promise are solemnly invocated*; and the very day is set down

down in their ancient Martyrologie: and when St. *Brendan* was returned, he gave an account of his voyage to St. *Abban*, which he did by the command of an *Angel*, saith the Author of his life; which *Colganus* calls *an illustrious testimony of the truth of it.* Thus having given an account of this miraculous voyage, and despairing to meet with any thing like it, I here give over my enquiry into the *Miracles* which have been received and believed in the Roman Church, in the most considerable parts of *Europe*.

Colgan. 16. Martii *vit. St.* Abbani n. 43.

And now, without farther reflections upon them, I leave the Reader to judge, whether the Testimony on which they have been received, ought to be compared in point of credibility, with that Testimony on which the Christian Church hath believed the miracles of Christ and his Apostles. Only one thing I desire may be observed, *viz.* that I have not raked their Kennels, nor made use of the *Authorities* of *Jacobus de Voragine*, *Petrus de Natalibus*, *Claudius Rota*, *Cantipratanus*, and such like; no nor yet of *Cæsarius ab Heisterbach*, *Dauroultius*, *Marulus*, *Gononus*, or such as have made Collections to my hands, but have taken their most approved and late writers, and such whose Authorities themselves make use of in other things. *Capgrave*, is supposed to have taken most of his

Pitseus de Scriptoribus Angliæ A. D. 1366.

lives out of *John* of *Tinmouths Sanctilogium*, whom *Pits* commends for *his excellent learning*, and that work particularly, *for his diligence, exactneſs, wit and judgement which he ſhewed in it; that he cut off many ſuperfluous things with diſcretion*; and if *Capgrave* took out of him, we may ſuppoſe that after ſo [illegible] ſtrainings we have only the beſt left; conſidering the Character that is given of *Capgrave*; *an excellent Divine* ſaith *Poſſevin*; *the chief of his time for piety and learning* ſaith *Harpsfield*; *the moſt learned man that ever was of his order in* England, *ſay* Joſephus Pamphilus *and others in* Pits; *a man of ſuch excellent parts and wit* ſaith *Pits* himſelf, *that he had ſcarce any equal, now ſuperiour in* England *in this time*: and among other things he commends him *for his judgement* and therefore his Authority will not be rejected as mean and contemptible among themſelves. Colganus *his firſt Tome of the Acts of the Saints of* Ireland, which I have only made uſe of, was publiſhed at *Lovain* A. D. 1645. with great approbations from the *General* of his order at *Rome*, from the *Profeſſors of* Lovain, from the *Ordinary Cenſor Librorum*, from four *Jeſuits*, and by commendatory Epiſtles from *Vernulæus* and *Erycius Puteanus* who highly applauds him for his induſtry, piety and faithfulneſs

Poſſevin in Apparatu v. Capgrave. Harpsfield. ſect. 15. c. 17.

Pits deſcrip. Ang. A. D. 1484.

ſulneſs; therefore my Adverſaries cannot pretend that I have picked up ſome old worm-eaten ſtories with which to diſgrace their miracles: No, they are ſuch as are thought fit to be publiſhed with as great approbation, as ever any Books come forth among them. And for the *Jeſuits Collection at* Antwerp, which I have ſometimes made uſe of, begun by *Bollandus* and continued by *Henſchenius* and *Papebrochius*, it was publiſhed ſince *A. D.* 1642. and with as much oſtentation of care and judgement as ever any thing was ſet forth in that kind; the laſt volume I have yet ſeen, came forth *A. D.* 1668. with ſufficient approbations. So that whatever judgement be paſſed upon the miracles, they cannot deny the Books I have made uſe of to be of greateſt Authority of any extant in this kind; and yet after all, I am apt to think they will meet with a great deal of infidelity from all that have not captivated their underſtandings to the obedience of the *Roman Faith.*

§. 9. Having thus far ſhewed how much the miracles boaſted of in the Roman Church fall ſhort in point of credibility of thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, from the different nature of the teſtimonies, and of the miracles themſelves; I now proceed to the ſecond thing

Of the Teſtimonies of St. *Chryſoſt.* and St. *Auguſt.* againſt the continuance of the power of Miracles.

thing, viz *to ſhew that the credibility of the Witneſſes in the Roman Church is taken away by the Teſtimony of perſons much more credible than themſelves.* For if the moſt impartial Witneſſes utterly deny, that there is any compariſon to be made between the miracles wrought in the Church in latter-ages with thoſe wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, If perſons living in the communion of that Church, have aſſerted ſuch things concerning their miracles, as ſufficiently diſcover, that their Teſtimony is not to be relied upon; then I appeal to the judgement of any man whether it be not intolerable impudence in any to parallel the miracles of that Church with thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles?

1. The moſt impartial Witneſſes have aſſerted the direct contrary to *E. W. viz.* by affirming that no compariſon is to be made between the miracles of after-ages of the Church and thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. The moſt impartial Witneſſes in this caſe muſt be men of approved ſanctity on both ſides, perſons of great judgement and experience, and that lived at ſuch a time when no intereſt could byaſs them to favour one ſide more than the other. And ſuch in all reſpects were St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Auguſtin*; to them therefore we appeal in this matter.

St. *Chryſoſtom* not once or twice, but ſeve-

ral

ral times and upon very different occasions delivers his opinion upon this subject. In his Commentaries upon the first Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians* and the five first verses, puts this Question τίνος ἕνεκεν τὰ σημεῖα κεκώλυται νῦν; *for whose sake is the power of miracles now forbidden?* which he at large discusses in that place. The substance of his answer is this; *either the persons who put that Question do believe the miracles wrought by Christ or his Apostles, or they do not; if not, let them give an account how the Christian Religian which is so contrary to the present interests of men should prevail so much in the world as it hath done: for if they believed without miracles that would appear to be a far greater miracle. But*, saith he, *because no miracles are wrought now, make not that an evidence that none were wrought then; for then it was useful there should be miracles, and now it is useful there should not.* Can any Testimony be plainer and more express than this? Is it possible he should believe as great miracles were done in the Church afterwards as by Christ and his Apostles, that not only asserts that there were none, but saith it would not be useful to the Church there should be any? Because as he adds immediately after, *those who preach now do not preach by Inspiration as the Apostle did,*

Chrysost. *in* 1. *Ep. ad* Corinth. *Hom.* 6. *Tom.* 3. *ed* Savil. *p* 275, *&c.*

Μὴ τοινῦν τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι νῦν σημεῖα, τεκμήριον ποιοῦ τοῦ μὴ γεγενῆσθαι τότε καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε χρησίμως ἐγίνετο, καὶ νῦν χρησίμως οὐ γίνετο.

but

but only that doctrine which they received from them: and therefore make use of their miracles to confirm the truth of what they spake. But why, saith he, *were miracles useful then and not now? because the continual working of miracles would lessen faith, and our Saviour saith, Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed. But if thou wilt not be convinced without signs, thou maist see signs, although not such as Christ and his Apostles wrought*, viz. *the accomplishment of prophesies*; several of which he there mentions. *Why then*, saith he, *do not all believe now?* to which he gives this answer, *that the first Christians did not believe only on the account of the miracles they saw, but by seeing the holy and exemplary lives of those who wrought them*; *It is*, saith he, *therefore the want of the primitive sanctity rather than miracles which makes men yet continue in their infidelity: let those that have a mind to be saved search the Scriptures, wherein they will find both the miracles they wrought and the holy conversations which they led. But if a man be found that hath any footsteps left of the ancient wisdom he presently leaves the City and conversation, and betakes himself to the mountains, a fair pretence is made for this to prevent the deadning of devotion; as though it were not bet-*

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ter to be duller and to gain others, than remaining in a mountain to ſee round about thee thy Brethren deſtroyed. As he excellently ſpeaks, though I doubt with little ſatisfaction to the Monaſtick pretenders to perfection in the Roman Church. Elſewhere complaining of the degenerate lives of Chriſtians, *from whence now*, ſaith he, *ſhall Chriſtians be perſwaded to believe? from miracles? ἀλλ' οὐ γίνεται ταῦτα but thoſe are not now wrought. Who is there now a days* ſaith he, in another place *to be compared with St.* Paul, *who had ſuch a divine power going along with his preaching; who was terrible to Devils if he only appeared and ſaid nothing; but if all we were met together with a thouſand prayers and tears, we could not do ſo much as St.* Pauls *handkerchief did.* And is it poſſible to believe that St. *Chryſoſtom* ever thought the miracles of after ages could be compared with thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? No, he utterly blaſts the Teſtimony of ſuch who afterwards have pretended to miracles, unleſs they can ſhew a plain reaſon why miracles ſhould ceaſe in St. *Chryſoſtoms* time, and be ſo common again afterwards. It is evident that the world was not ſo fully converted to Chriſtianity then, but there was as great occaſion for miracles, as could be pretended in ſucceeding Ages; all the difference that I can find

Chryſoſt. in 1. ad Tim λόγ. 1. p. 288.

De Sacerdot. l. 4. p. 37.

find was, that men were honester and wiser then; but as the Christian world degenerated from the piety and goodness of the primitive times it pretended to come nearer to the Age of Christ and his Apostles in doing wonders. To the same purpose with St. *Chrysostom* speaks the Author of the imperfect work upon St. *Matthew*, who hath sometimes gone under St. *Chrysostom*'s name: and herein differs not at all from him, for he saith, *that formerly true Christians were differenced from the false by the miracles which they wrought; the false Christians either not being able to work any, or not such as the true Christians wrought; but empty signs such as caused admiration, but brought no benefit with them. But now*, saith he, *this working of miracles is wholly taken away and only pretended to by false Christians.* Let *E. W.* and such as he, consider these words, and see who they are that pretend to miracles since the primitive days. *Carolus Scribanus* who undertook to write a defence of *Lipsius* his *Virgo Hallensis*, thinks to escape this Testimony by saying, *that this Author only denys such kind of miracles to continue still as were in the Apostles times*, viz. *the speaking and understanding tongues.* But *E. W.* makes no limitation at all, nay he not only saith *the same*, but *greater miracles have been done in the*

Auctor. imperfect. in Matth. hom. 49.

Nunc autem signorum operatio omnino levata est: magis autem & apud eos invenitur, qui falsi sunt Christiani fictia.

Carol. Scribanii Orthodox. Fidei Contov. l. 4. c. 2.

the *Roman Church*; and it is apparent that these very miracles have been pretended to in the Roman Church, as not only concerning St. *Vincentius Ferrerius* but many others before him. We are told by some that *Ephræm Syrus* understood the Greek tongue by the prayers of St. *Basil*; but *Baronius* himself explodes it for a Fable, however it be still believed by others. If *Capgrave* and such writers may be credited, St. *David*, St. *Paternus*, St. *Theliaus* all preached at *Hierusalem* in their own language, and the people understood them as if they had spoken in theirs. Some such exposition they had heard of the Apostles speaking in strange tongues on the day of Pentecost, and because these were at *Hierusalem*, the same miracle must be related of them. But methinks, they should not have lost the gift they had of speaking in the languages of the several countries they passed through, which is likewise attributed to them; for if God gave them such a miraculous gift only for the conveniency of travelling, it seems hard they should want it when they were to preach at *Hierusalem*. St. *Goodric* spake French to a Monk on the day of *Pentecost* saith *Capgrave*, although he never understood that Language before; which is not very probable, in so great a Traveller as he represents him to be. But the greatest instance of this kind

David Roth. Elucid. in Jocelin. p. 120.

Baron. A. D. 370. n. 56.

Capgrave vit St. Thel. f 281.

Colgan. vit. St. David n. 20.

Capgrave. vit. St. Goodric f. 144.

kind is *E. W's admirable Saint* St. *Vincentius Ferrerius*, of whom two ſtrange miracles are related, one that ſpeaking in one Tongue he was underſtood by his Auditors of ſeveral countries in their own languages, another that although people were at never ſo great diſtance from him (for they ſay he had ſometimes 80000. Auditors) yet he was eaſily heard by them all. Had not this man an admirable voice, or the people admirable ears? *Mariana* ſaith this happened to none but him from the Apoſtles days. And yet *Ribadineira* relates the very ſame thing of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*; and that he was heard at two miles diſtance: which is likewiſe affirmed by the Writer of his Life printed before his Works, and by *Hermannus Scheidel*, *Sedulius* and others. Nay *Ribadineira* tells that St. *Ludgard* ſpeaking Dutch, was perfectly underſtood by ſome French Women that underſtood only their own language. It ſeems then this was not St. *Vincentius* his peculiar gift, if it were his at all. I find that *Raynaldus* and *Spondanus* appeal to the Teſtimony of *Nicol. de Clemangis* concerning this miraculous gift: who was Secretary to Pope *Benedict* the thirteenth to whom St. *Vincentius* had been Maſter of the Palace at *Avignon*. Of him *Clemangis* ſaith, *that it is not improbably believed that he had the gift of tongues*:

Lud. Bail. *Bibliotheca Concionatorum p.* 3. *c.* 65.

Raynald. *A.D.* 1414 *n.* 20.

Mariana *de rebus Hiſp. l.* 19. *c.* 12.

Ribadineira *Flos Sanctorum* 13. Junii.

Vita St. Antonii *c.* 15. 17. *ed. de la Haye* 1641.

Scheidel. 6. at. mundiat. Seduli. *tract. de Sanctis Or.* Ribaden. 16. Junii. 114.

St. Antonin. *Chron. Ton.* 3. *tit.* 24. *Sect.* 2.

Spondan. *A.D.* 1403. *n.* 7.

Nicol *de* Clemangis *ep.* 113.

he

he dares not we ſee abſolutely affirm it, although he heard him preach at *Genoa*. But what arguments doth he produce for it? one is, *that although he were a Spaniard, he ſpake Italian ſo readily and diſtinctly that even the Women underſtood him.* And is it ſuch a miracle for a Spaniard to ſpeak Italian well that it ought to be compared with the Apoſtles gift of tongues? But the great wonderment is yet behind, *viz. that though he ſpake Italian words yet all people of other nations underſtood him:* and for this he only tells us, *he heard a German ſay ſome ſuch thing, and for his own part, although he did ſcarce half underſtand Italian, yet he perfectly underſtood what he ſaid.* Which is no ſuch great wonder conſidering the matter of his preaching chiefly on one ſubject of the day of Judgement, which requiring the uſe of ſuch words as are taken from the Latine, may eaſily be underſtood by a perſon who thorowly underſtands Latine, though he be not perfect in Italian. The whole credit therefore of this miracle depends upon the teſtimony of this *German*; and who can tell how much he underſtood either of his Sermon or of the Italian Tongue? For he ſaith no more, *than that he underſtood him as well as if his words had been ſpoken in his own tongue:* which ſurely he might do without a miracle, unleſs

it were a miracle for a German to underſta
Italian. But concerning this, and all th
other ſuppoſed miracles of *this admira*
Saint, we have a remarkable Teſtimony
one of the ableſt men of that Age, (th
knew *Vincentius*, and a letter of his is extan
which he writ to him; wherein he expreſs
no ſuch admiration of him) and that is th
famous Chancellor of *Paris*, *John Gerſo*
He wrote a diſcourſe *againſt the Sect of Whi*
pers, (which by the preaching and encou
ragement of *Vincentius* was again revived
and 10000. ſaith *Rauzanus* in his life follow
ed him up and down, many of which did ſ
ſoundly laſh themſelves according to *Vince*
tius his inſtructions, that he ſaith *ſome c*
count it a miracle that none fell into any ſick
neſs by it). In which diſcourſe he lays ope
the folly of this Sect, and ſaith, *men migh*
as well brand themſelves with hot Irons o
caſtrate themſelves, as hope to expiate their ſi
by ſuch bloody whippings of their bodies. But be
ſides this, *Vincentius* preached of the very nea
approach of Antichriſt and the day of Judg
ment, both which *Gerſon* diſlikes in him; bu
ſaith he, *if any man offers to bring new mi*
racles to confirm the near approach of Anti
chriſt let him know that the world is in it
dotage and therefore is eaſily impoſed upon by
the apparitions of falſe miracles. As an old
man

Rauzan. *vit. St.* Vincentii *apud* Bzov. *A.D.* 1419. *Sect* 20. *apud Surium* 5. Aprilis.

Joh. Gerſon *c. Stellam ſe flagellantium Tom.* 1. *p.* 641.

man is troubled with dreams in his ſleep; *therefore*, ſaith he, *miracles are now to be vehemently ſuſpected, unleſs a very diligent examination be firſt made of them.* See now what judgement this truly great man in that Age, paſſes upon theſe pretended miracles of *this admirable Saint*! However, it hence appears that in the Church of Rome they have not pretended to any one ſort of miracles alone; but let them be of what kind ſoever, ſome among them (ſetting only aſide their own reſurrection from the dead) have challenged to themſelves the glory of them. But after all, this is a miſerable ſhift to avoid this Teſtimony; for this Author makes no other difference of ſigns; than *that the miracles of falſe Chriſtians were only in appearance, and brought no advantage to the world*; *whereas the miracles of the true Chriſtians were real and beneficial to the world*; *but now*, ſaith he, *this working of miracles is wholly taken away: and only falſe Chriſtians pretend to it.* Which teſtimony is ſo ſtrong that I expect no other anſwer to it, than calling the Author of it Heretick and Arrian.

But againſt St. *Chryſoſtom*, he objects more plauſibly, *viz. from the daily wonders which he confeſſes are wrought by the Martyrs: and particularly by* Babylas *when the Devil told* Julian

Chryſoſt. in Babyl. λογ. ß.

Julian *his Mouth was ſtopt at the Oracle* Daphne, *ſince* Babylas *his bones were la there.* It is not to be denied, that St. *Chry ſoſtom* did look upon this as a wonderf thing; and ſaith afterwards *that the Dev ſtill expreſſed ſuch conſternation at the ſhri of the Martyrs as might convince the imp dence of ſuch who disbelieved the miracles the Apoſtles.* But St. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking theſe extraordinary things which were do by the Martyrs calls them θαύματα and n σημεῖα as he does the other; for he ſaith ex preſly, *that the* σημεῖα *were ceaſed*, i. e. ſuch miracles as gave any Teſtimony to th infallible commiſſion which perſons had fro God to deliver his doctrine; but yet the were may θαύματα *ſtill done by the Martyrs*, i.e ſuch extraordinary things which we cannot ſuppoſe God would permit to happen, if thes Martyrs had not been highly in favour wit God; and therefore theſe were only atteſta tions of their Sanctity in a time when the were ſo much deſpiſed as they were by *Ju lian* and his followers, and when Paganiſm began to recover again; and it was very agreeable, with the wiſdom and methods o Divine Providence in an extraordinary man ner to vindicate the innocency of the Mar tyrs; as he did in the caſe of *Babylas* to *Ju lian himſelf*, by ſtopping the Oracle by the

nearneſs

earneſs of his Bones to the *Temple* of *Daphne*, and when they were removed, by ſetting the Temple on fire in ſo wonderful a manner as is at large related by St. *Chryſoſtom* and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians of that time.

The ſame account we are to give of St. *Auſtins* opinion in this matter. In his *Book of True Religion*, having ſhewed how neceſſary miracles were to confirm the Authority of thoſe who were ſent by God to declare his Will, he adds *that by their working miracles they are become unneceſſary to us now: for* ſaith he, *ſince the Catholick Church is now eſtabliſhed and diffuſed through the World, miracles are not ſuffered to continue to our times; that we may not always ſeek after viſible things, and leſt cuſtom ſhould abate the eſteem of them.* Much to the ſame purpoſe the diſcourſes in his *Book of the uſefulneſs of believing* againſt the *Manichees*; where he ſhews *the neceſſity that there was of miracles to confirm the Chriſtian faith at firſt, and the nature of the miracles wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and then puts the Queſtion as* St. Chryſoſtom *did*, *Cur, inquis, iſta modo non fiunt?* Why are not ſuch miracles wrought now? to which he anſwers, *becauſe miracles would not move men if there were not ſomething wonderful in them; and there would be nothing wonderful if they were common.*

Auguſt. de verâ Relig. c. 25.

De utilit. cred. c. 15, 16.

mon. It is true that St. *Auguſtin* did conſider both theſe places in his *Book* of *Retractations* (not as though he Recanted every thing which he handles there, for *Retractat.* l. 1. c. 13. in St. *Auguſtins* ſenſe was no more than to review) for mentioning the former ſaying; he adds, *that it is true, for*, ſaith he, *the miraculous gifts of tongues are not now poured out when hands are laid on the baptized, nor are ſick perſons healed at the ſhadow of the preachers of Chriſt and many other ſuch things, which it is certain are now ceaſed.* But he would not have it ſo underſtood as though *no miracles at all were then wrought in the name of Chriſt*; *for then*, he ſaith, *he knew that a blind man was healed at the Shrines of the Martyrs of* Milan; *and ſo many other ſuch things were done that they could neither know them all nor enumerate thoſe he did know.* And to the other place, Ib. c. 14. he ſaith, *that he gave that Anſwer, becauſe neither ſo many nor ſo great miracles are wrought now as were by Chriſt or his Apoſtles.* And can any ſayings be more contradictory than this of St. *Auguſtins* and *E. W's* aſſerting, *that as many and as great* (nay *greater*) *miracles are wrought ſince as ever were in their days.* It is true that St. *Auguſtin* doth there ſay, *that there were ſome miracles ſtill left in the Church*, and he produces

nces ſeveral inſtances elſewhere; but in the ſame place he denies the *neceſſity of theſe miracles ſince the large propagation of Chriſtianity in the world, and accounts him a prodigie that yet ſeeks after prodigies to confirm his faith.* Only he ſhews Gods extraordinary kindneſs to his Church in that time (while there were ſo many Pagans yet left among them) that he did not leave them without ſome Teſtimonies of his miraculous power in *the cure of diſeaſes at the memories of the Martyrs* or *upon the prayers of the faithful*, of which he there gives ſeveral examples: but elſewhere he ſhews, *that the miracles wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles were wrought for the benefit and ſatisfaction of future Ages as well as their own, that ſo none might complain for want of a power of miracles.* And when the *Donatiſts* aftewards appealed to the miracles wrought by *Donatus* and *Pontius*, and to *viſions* and *revelations*; St. *Auguſtin* very ſmartly bids them *lay aſide thoſe feigned miracles or Diabolical impoſtures: for either they were not true, or if they were, we have ſo much the more reaſon to beware of them; becauſe our Saviour hath foretold that falſe Prophets ſhould ariſe working ſigns and wonders, that if it were poſſible they ſhould deceive the very Elect.* But it may be ſaid, *that in all this* St. Auguſtin *doth*

De Civit. Dei l. 22. c. 8.

In Pſal. 130. v. 1.

De unit. Eccleſ. c. 16.

only upbraid the Schismatical Donatists with lying miracles and not take away the evidence of miracles from the true Church; that St. *Augustin* himself answers, *that the Catholicks do not bring the evidence of miracles to prove the true Church by, nor yet Visions and Revelations*; *for*, saith he, *such things are to be approved, because they are done in the Catholick Church*; *and not that the Church is proved to be Catholick because such things are done in it*: and therefore saith, *that controversie of the Church must be ended by the Scriptures.* From whence it necessarily follows that St. *Augustin* could never think the miracles done in his time, were to be compared with those wrought by Christ or his Apostles, or could give equal evidence of credibility either concerning the Doctrine or the Church which delivered it. Never did two men more plainly contradict each other in this point than St. *Augustin* and *E. W.* who appeals to miracles for proof of the Catholick and infallible Church, and such as are equal to those of Christ and his Apostles; but whether St. *Augustin* or *E. W.* deserve the greater credit that is another controversie which I am not now at leisure to engage in. To the same purpose St. *Augustin* speaks in another place, *viz. that miracles are no proof of the true Church*; *for though*

Tract 14 *in* Joh. *c.* 3.

though Pontius *and* Donatus *might do wonders and see visions, yet Christ hath now forewarned us*, quia & miraculis decipi non debemus, *we ought not now to be deceived by miracles.* The force of which argument from our Saviours caution depends upon this, *viz.* that the Christian Religion being once established by plain and evident miracles, there would be no necessity in after ages to have recourse to miracles again: For if no new Doctrine be delivered, what need can there be of new miracles? *Let no man therefore now complain* saith the same St. *Augustin*, *because Christ doth not work the same miracles now that he did in former times; for he hath said Blessed are they which have not seen and yet have believed; whom doth he mean*, saith he, *but us, and those who are to come after us: But those miracles were wrought by Christ to draw men to faith; and this faith is now spread over the world. And now although he does not work the same cures, he does greater; now the blind eyes do not receive sight by a miracle of Christ, but the blind hearts do see by the doctrine of Christ; now dead bodies are not raised, but souls that are dead, in living bodies do rise again. Now deaf ears are not opened, but deaf minds are by the power of Gods word, so that they believe and live well, who were unbelievers* De verbis Dom. Serm. 18.

and

and wicked and disobedient. Could any man of common sense have used these expressions; if he had thought there was either any necessity of miracles being wrought in his time, or that there were such miracles then wrought which might be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles? and as he elsewhere fully speaks to this purpose; *Signs and Miracles were wrought by the Apostles to bring men from infidelity to faith; that men seeing those things done which are impossible with men, may acknowledge that the preaching is from God, by which power they were to prove that there was reason to believe. Among believers then signs and miracles are not not necessary; but only a firm hope.*

Quæst. ex Novo Testam. c. 63.

From these Testimonies of St. *Augustin* thus laid together we observe these things. 1. That the main intention of miracles was to convince unbelievers. 2. That the Christian faith being established, there was no longer any necessity of the power of miracles. 3. That though there were not any such necessity; yet God out of his abundant kindness, was pleased to do some extraordinary things among them in their time. 4. That in disputes about the true Church they never appealed to the Power of miracles; but to the Scriptures whose Doctrine was already confirmed by Miracles. 5. That those out of

of the true Church might make as great a pretence to miracles, visions and revelations as those who were in it, as appears by the Donatists. 6. That some kind of miracles were wholly ceased then in the Church, as the gift of tongues and the common miraculous cures of diseases by those that preached. 7. That those which did then remain, were not in any respect for number or quality to be compared with those of Christ and his Apostles; as the cure of one blind man at *Milan*, or those other cures of a *Cancer*, a *Fistula*, or the two shaking persons in *Africa*: for when himself speaks most favourably of the miracles then wrought, he saith they were not so great, nor so many, as those done by Christ or his Apostles.

§. 10. But what shall we now say to the succeeding Ages of the Church? For after the first 600. years were passed, and there were no more St. *Chrysostoms*, or St. *Augustins*, and one of *the greatest Prodigies*, (as *Tully* said of old) *was a wise man*, the pretence of the common working of miracles was again started, by those who undertook to give an account of the *lives* of the *Saints*; for they thought they said nothing in effect of them if they did not attribute the power of miracles upon any occasion to them. Then St. *Gregory*

Of the Testimonies of their own Writers against the miracles of the Roman Church.

gory and St. *Bede* ſhewed the way to the reſt; and by their own credulity and want of judgement gave a pattern and encouragement to all the Monkiſh Tales and impoſtures afterwards. But we muſt acknowledge our obligation to ſome more ingenuous and judicious men in the Roman Church, who in ſeveral Ages have blaſted the credit, and diſcovered the Impoſtures of theſe *Legendary* Writers: which is the next thing I am to prove; *viz.*

2. *That the credibility of their miracles in the Church of Rome, is deſtroyed by the Teſtimony of their own more judicious Writers.* *Ludovicus Vives*, after he hath diſcourſed of all other Hiſtories, comes to that of the Church, and particularly the *Lives of the Saints*, of which he ſaith, *that they are generally corrupted with abundance of lies, while the Writer indulges his own paſſion, and ſets down not what the Saints did, but what he would have had him done: ſo that in their lives we ſee the mind of the Writer, and not the truth. For there have been thoſe who thought it a piece of piety to tell lies for Religion: which is a very dangerous thing leſt by that means the truth rejected for the ſake of the falſe.* This ſaying of *Vives* *Melchior Canus*, a man highly eſteemed in the Church of Rome, recites and approves, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, wherein he ſaith, *that the lives of*

Lud. Vives de trad. Diſcipl. l. 5.

Melch. Can. lo. Th. ol l. 11. c. 6.

the

the Philoſophers are more ſeverely written by Laertius *than the Lives of the Saints by Chriſtians, and that* Suetonius *hath with more honeſty and integrity delivered the acts of the* Cæſars *than the Catholicks have done the Acts of Martyrs, Virgins and Confeſſors. And afterwards he charges them with wilful falſifying either only to deceive or to gain by it, of which the one is ſordid and the other pernicious:* and he produces ſome inſtances of ſuch miracles, which he ſaith, *are without number.* Neither doth he only underſtand this of ſuch men as the *Author of the Golden Legend*, or of the *ſpeculum exemplorum*; but he plainly confeſſes, *that their moſt grave Writers in reporting the miracles of Saints have followed uncertain reports and conveyed them to Poſterity.* In which *they either gave great liberty to themſelves or yeilded too much to the deſires of the People, whom they found not only ready to believe theſe miracles, but to be fond and greedy of them. Therefore,* ſaith he, *they have reported ſome ſigns and miracles; not that they did willingly believe them themſelves, but becauſe they would not be wanting to the pious deſire of the people*; which was it ſeems, that they ſhould tell lies to pleaſe them. And if they had not their deſires fully anſwered in this, they were very inſatiable. After this, he particularly in-

instances in *Bede* and *Gregory*, *the one of which in his Hiſtory*, *the other in his Dialogues* he charges *with relating miracles upon common reports*, *which the Criticks of this Age will judge to be uncertain.* And we may be ſure *Canus*, who tells us, *what an excellent wit his Maſter Victoria ſaid he had, was one of them.* But is now the credibility of the miracles in the Roman Church to be compared with that of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? Did they who writ the miracles recorded of them indulge their own affections, and make Tales to pleaſe the people; as we ſee *Canus* ſaith *their graveſt Writers of Miracles* did? Or did they take up things upon common rumors, and from thence divulge them to poſterity? as we ſee *Canus* charges even St. *Gregory*, and St. *Bede* with doing. What would become of our Chriſtianity, if we had no better grounds to believe the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? If any ſhould ſay ſo of the reporters of their miracles they would be juſtly charged with betraying the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, and making it ſuſpected to be *a fourb*, *an Impoſture a fabulous ſtory*, as *E. W.* ſpeaks in the caſe of the miracles related by St. *Antonin*: And yet *Melchior Canus* expreſly ſaith of him, *that he did not make it his buſineſs to write what was true and certain, but to let nothing*

Loc. Theolog. l. 12. proem.

paſs that he could meet with: And that he and Vincentius Belovacenſis *were ſo far from weighing what they writ in an exact ballance, that they did not ſo much as make uſe of a common judgement.* Whereas our Critical *E. W.* ſaith. *And who dares ſay that ſo great a Doctor and moſt modeſt Prelate as St.* Antonin *was ſo frontleſs as to write that we read without aſſurance and certainty?* We ſee *Melchior Canus dares ſay it*; and that not only of St. *Antonin* whom he looks on as far inferior to the other, but of his *venerable Bede* too, whom *E. W.* calls *a great Scholar, and a man highly eſteemed the whole Chriſtian world over*; I ſhall not go about to diminiſh his reputation in other things; but he had need of a good eaſie faith that can ſwallow the miracles related by him, whether thoſe of St. *Cuthbert*, which *E. W.* mentions or others. What muſt we think of the Angels appearing to S. *Cuthbert* a horſeback when he was a boy, and preſcribing him a Poultes to cure his ſore knee? and of his ſeeing the Gates of Heaven opened and the ſoul of St. *Aidan* conveyed through them by a troop of Angels? Of his receiving three hot loaves from an Angel, that were whiter than lillies & ſmelt beyond roſes, and taſted ſweeter than hony? Of his frighting the crows from ſtealing the thatch off from the Covent, and the penance they ſubmitted

Reaſon and Religion *Diſc.* 2. *c.* 8. *n.* 6.

S. *Cuthberti vita Auctore Bedâ tom.* 3. *& apud Colg.* 20 Martii. *& Bolland.* 3. *tom.* Martii. *c.* 2. *c.* 4. *c.* 7. *c.* 20.

to

to for the injury they had done, and the satisfaction they made by bringing him a good piece of Lard with which he used afterwards to grease his Boots? Of the vertue of his shoes C. 45. in curing a man of a Palsie after St. *Cuthbert*'s death, being put on upon his feet? Of these I shall only ask *E. W*'s. Question, *Are any such seen now a days wrought among Protestant Bishops? No, God knows their faith is a stranger to such kind of miracles.*

But what shall we say to *Canus* who takes away the Authority of St. *Gregory* too as well as *Bede* in this matter of miracles? I know *Baron. not. in Martyr. Decemb. 23.* *Baronius* falls very foul upon *Canus* for speaking so freely of St. *Gregory* in this particular, especially *because he doth not mention those miracles which he looks on as undeserving credit*; but I think he ought to have thanked him for his modesty and silence herein, in not exposing *Gregories* credulity to contempt by insisting upon them. But in truth St. *Gregory* in those *Books of Dialogues* (for I see no reason to deny them to be his own) was the *Father of Legends*, and most of the others afterwards were made in imitation of his; as might be particularly made appear by many Instances. And *Bede* followed the Copy which *Gregory* had set him, and from hence such a swarm of *Legends* arose, that in the succeeding Ages it is hard to say whether there

were

were more Ignorance or Wonders. To give only a taſt of ſome of the miracles reported by *Gregory*; the firſt is of *Honoratus the Abbot that ſtopt a great ſtone in the middle of its falling from a great mountain by making the ſign of the croſs towards it, and there it is ſeen hanging as it were in the air.* But in my opinion St. *Dunſtan* out-did him, *who not only*, ſaith *Capgrave ſtopt a piece of Timber ſo falling, but with the ſign of the croſs made it return back to the place from whence it fell.* This was the greater miracle although the other had more to ſhew for it; if the ſtone had hung quite in the air; which I confeſs I do a little queſtion. *Libertinus raiſed one from the dead by Honoratus his ſhoe being laid upon his breaſt*, ſaith *Gregory* as St. *Cuthberts ſhoe's* in *Bede* cured a man of the Palſie. *The Gardiner of the Monaſtery being troubled with a Thief that came over the hedge, and ſtole his herbs commanded a Serpent to follow him and to lie juſt croſs in the way he was wont to come over; the Serpent preſently obeyed, the Thief was taken and the Serpent releaſed.* From hence afterwards, he ſcarce deſerved the name of a Saint of whom they could not tell ſome extravagant ſtories of the power he had over Serpents: of which multitudes of Inſtances may be ſeen in *Colganus* and *Capgrave* beſides many other more ancient

Greg. Dialog. l. 1. c. 1.

Capgr. f. 92. 1.

Greg. l. 1. c. 2.

c. 3.

than they. The ſtory of St. *Equitius* in Gr
c. 4. *gory* and St. *Elias* in *Capgrave*, as *to t*
way of their being delivered from all luſtf
thoughts by an Angel appearing in the ni
and ſeeming to caſtrate them, is the very ſam
by which we ſee out of what Magazine t
later *Legendaries* took their materials, whi
they altered and adorned with ſuch varie
of circumſtances as would beſt go down wi
the people. Methinks then *Baronius* mig
have let alone *Canus* in this matter, and n
provoked others to give an account of t
Ib. foppiſh miracles contained in that *Primiti*
Legend, ſuch as, *the Devils entring into*
Nun becauſe ſhe eat a Lettice in the gard
without croſſing it; and when St. Equiti
demanded of him what he did there, the De
anſwered, he was ſitting upon the Lettice a
ſhe came and eat him up; but it was well f
her that St. *Equitius* ſent him going witho
c. 7. preſcribing her a vomit: as, *Nonnoſus*
removing a ſtone by his prayers, which fi
Yoke of Oxen could not ſtirr, and all this
Ib. no other end but only *to make way for a lit*
Kitchin garden for the Monks: as, *the ſa*
mans praying the pieces of a glaſs Lamp wh
again, only for fear of the diſpleaſure of h
ſuperior: which was a ſubſtantial reaſon f
Ib. ſo pretty a miracle. *And his multiplying o*
by a miracle rather than the lazy Monks ſho

out to gather Olives : as, *Boniface's re-* c. 9.
ving 12. *Crowns by a miracle, becauſe his*
ephew complained he had opened his Cheſt
d had taken away ſo many from him to give
the poor; and his adjuring all the Eruc's
his garden in the name of Chriſt to be gone
d not eat up his herbs, which they imme-
ately did, and not one remained: and
aking the Fox by his prayers bring back the
llet he had ſtollen, becauſe he complained
God Almighty in the Church, (whither he
n upon this ſad diſaſter) *that he could eat*
me of his Mothers Poultry: as, *Martirius* c. 11.
ſigning the cake in the embers with the ſign
the croſs without touching it; only making
towards the fire, at which it gave a great
rack and was perfectly ſigned with the croſs
hen they took it out. Theſe may ſerve only for a
iſt of the kind of theſe miracles out of his *firſt*
ook, that men may judge with what reaſon
anus made ſuch exceptions to *Gregories* Au-
hority in this point of miracles. It would be too
edious to give an account of the miracles in his
hree other Books, but they are ſo much alike,
hat by ſeeing theſe we may judge of the reſt.

Thus we ſee the opinion of *Vives* and *Canus*
bout the Teſtimony on which miracles are
believed in the Roman Church; but we muſt
not think theſe perſons were ſingular in this
opinion; for in ſeveral ages men of any ho-

neſty and judgement have complained of t
pious frauds which have been uſed in th
matters: and that ſome thought them law
to be uſed as long as they were for the hono
Per. Damiani *vit. St.* Romualdi *prolog.* of the Church or the Saints. So *Petrus D miani* ſaith *there were ſome who thought t honoured God by making lies to extoll the v tues of his Saints*; which words he uſes u this occaſion of miracles; and goes ab ſeriouſly to confute them, *by telling them t God doth not ſtand in need of our lies*; a to the ſame purpoſe he ſpeaks in the pref to the lives of St. *Maurus* and of *Domini Ferratus* written by him. What ſecur can there be then, of the miracles repor by them *who think it lawful to invent lies the Honour of the Church or of the ſuppo Saints who live and dye in it?* If the Primiti Church had made lying for the ſake of Ch ſtianity lawful, it would have been the m reaſonable pretence for infidelity, that co be ſuppoſed. For how can any man thi himſelf obliged to believe another, that do not think himſelf obliged to ſpeak truth? the Primitive Chriſtians had made lying indifferent thing all their ſufferings could ha given no ſecurity of the truth of their Te mony, for notwithſtanding the falſhood their Teſtimony, they might then hope how ever, to be rewarded in another world, a

nsequently might suffer any thing here; t when they declared at the same time, that ing was utterly unlawful, and yet ventured suffer the utmost extremity to attest the uth of their Testimony; this gives the high- credibility to the things asserted by them. t we have no satisfaction as to either of ese things in the witnesses of the miracles in e Roman Church; no man hath ever lost much as a finger to give Testimony to one iracle among them, and supposing they ould suffer, we have no assurance but they ght think it lawful to lie for their Religion; d therefore all their sufferings could not ove the truth of their Testimony. We have sentence or declaration of their Church ainst *pious frauds*; but we have large con- sions from their own Writers of the practice them, and the good end they are designed r, *viz.* to keep up the devotion of the people. *hn Gerson* honestly confesses *this to be the d of the Legends and miracles of the Saints d their visions and revelations so much lked of in the Roman Church* viz. *to stirr up piety and good affections of the people: for se things, saith he, are not proposed by Church to be believed as true; but they are ther to consider them as things that might done, than as things that were done. And is no matter*, saith he, *if some things that*

John Gerson declar. veritatum tom. 1. p. 415.

are really false are piously believed; so that the
be not believed as false or known to be false
the same time. And I wish he had added
condition more, *viz.* that the infallibili
of the Church be not to be proved by them
for in that case I hope it is of some lit
concernment whether they be true or false. B
are we not like to meet with credible Tes
monies in such things where the most hon
and learned among them think it is no gre
Lyra in c. 14. Dan. matter *whether they be true or false?* N
wonder then, that *Lyra* complains *of th*
frauds used by the Priests in the Churches
Cajetan. *make the people believe that miracles wo*
opusc. tract. 10. de concept. B. V. ad Leon. 10. c. 5. *wrought*; no wonder, that *Cajetan* so mu
slights the argument drawn from *modern m*
racles and revelations and saith *it is only*
for old women; could any man have do
this, that had believed them to be any oth
than *cheats and impostures?* Especially in
solemn a matter as the immaculate conceptio
and in a discourse addressed to *Leo* 10.
prepared for the *Lateran Council.* By whic
we see, that the learned and wise men amo
themselves when they are put to declare th
minds, speak as freely of these matters, as w
can do; but still they think it fit the comm
people should be cheated and deceived b
them; so a learned and ingenuous writer o
the *French Church* and *Doctor* of the *Sorb*

ells us, *that he was so far from receiving thanks from many for laying open the fables and impostures of the Monks, that they referred him to* Polybius *his judgement about these matters; who determines, that allowance ought to be given to those Writers who invent miracles and stories to keep up the devotion of the People.* The occasion of *Polybius* delivering his judgement of his was this, It seems the Heathen Priests made almost as many and as foolish stories of miracles about their Images, as they are wont to do in the Church of Rome; among the rest, it was verily believed among the *Bargelietæ* that the Image of *Diana* being exposed to the air could receive no injury either by snow or rain; and the same was believed of the Image of *Vesta* among the *Jassians:* and these miracles were written by their Historians. But *Polybius* declares his great opposition to these follies; such saith he, as the miracle *Theopompus* relates of *Jupiter*'s Temple in *Arcadia*, that the bodies of those who are in it never cast any shadows. Yet he yeilds, *that something of this nature must be done to keep up the devotion of the people; but he would have it within bounds, although,* he saith, *it be very hard to determine those bounds.* Now saith *Launoy*, this saying of *Polybius* *I have been often told of by all sorts of men who pretended hereby to secure Christian piety, but*

Joh. Launoy *de curâ Eccles. pro. vene. ac. ss. art.* 30. *Coroll.* 1. Polyb. *Histor. l.* 16. *p.* 732. *Ed. Casaub.*

I found them worse than Polybius; *for he would have bounds set, but these will allow none. For they judge of all things by the absolutenes of Gods power; and regard not whether the things were done or no, as long as they might be done.* But as he excellently adds, *a false Religion indeed, according to* Polybius, *stands in need of such cheats and tricks to support it; but true Religion wants no such helps; the more simple, pure and innocent it is, it is so much the greater and more glorious; it is corrupted when it hath any thing unlike it self mixed with it. They who think otherwise of Christian Religion do not know it; but design to make a Religion out of truth and falshood.* Thus far that ingenuous man. By whom we see what the opinion is, which the more sagacious Persons in the Roman Church have of these *Monkish tales and impostures*; yet they generally are for keeping them up in as much credit with the people, as they can, and discountenance those who go about to undeceive them. But is not the Testimony of these things by their own confession very credible the mean while, and fit to be compared with the Testimony upon which the miracles of Christ and his Apostles is received in the Christian Church? It is hard to think that such men do believe Christianity in their hearts that dare publish such impudent com-

- pari-

pariſons. When the impoſtures of this nature in the *Church* of *Rome*, have been, like *Aſtrology* in old *Rome*, alwaies complained of and always practiſed: as will eaſily appear to any one that will peruſe the Teſtimonies brought by *Launoy* in that diſcourſe concerning counterfeit *Saints*, *Relicks* and *miracles*, which I ſhall not tranſcribe. The whole Chriſtian World is obliged to the Ingenuity of ſuch men who have taken pains in the diſcovery and confutation of ſuch Impoſtures; as the Monks have abuſed the people with.

But we are not only beholding to ſuch learned men who have purpoſely done this, but to thoſe who have lately publiſhed ſuch writings of the *middle Ages* whereby we underſtand their Hiſtory far better than we could do before. As for inſtance to our preſent purpoſe: among other very uſeful things publiſhed by *Lucas D'achery* we have the works of *Guibert* Abbot of *Nogent* in *France*, who lived in the beginning of the 12. Century a time brim full of *miracles* and *ſuperſtition*: in his works we have a *diſcourſe* of the *Relicks of the Saints*, which was occaſioned by a pretence the *Monks* of St. *Medard* made to a *tooth of our Saviour*, wherein he begins *with a complaint of the diſhonour which is put upon the Saints by the falſe ſtories which are made of them*, and then proceeds to *the falſe Saints* which

Guibert Abbas *de Pignoribus Sanctorum. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

which were worſhipped by them, as *Saint* Piron, *whom upon enquiry he found to have fallen drunk into a Well and ſo dyed, yet this man was worſhipped*, he ſaith, *both in Britain and in France*: and after telling ſome ridiculous miracles which he was willing however to believe to be true, he falls upon the falſe and counterfeit ones; *of which*, he ſaith, *that they who aſcribe to God that which he never thought to do, as much as lies in them make* C. 2. Sect. 5 *God a Lyer*: and he produces this inſtance of his own knowledge; *a certain boy that belonged to a Souldier happened to dye upon good Friday; the people were ready to attribute great Sanctity to him for dying upon that day; and of a ſudden great reſort was made to his tomb, and many oblations were made and wax Candles offered, and his tomb compaſſed about with great devotion, the people coming out of Britain to it. The Abbot and Monks ſeeing the people make ſuch reſort thither, were willing to have it believed that miracles were wrought there. And preſently ſome of the people feigned themſelves deaf, others mad, and others lame to bring greater credit by their cures to the young Saint*; that was but newly ſet up, and *the good Abbot gave encouragement to them.* But *Guibert* deteſts his *Nebulonity* for it, as he calls it, a word though hardly to be met with elſewhere, yet very fitly expreſſes

ſuch

ſuch horrible cheating and deluding the people. Another inſtance, he gives immediately after done in his preſence, *viz. a Preacher in a famous Church had a mind to draw cuſtom to it, and finding it neceſſary to tell them what excellent Relicks they had, he produces a box and ſhews it to the people, and tells them they were to underſtand that within that box was kept a piece of the bread which Chriſt himſelf did eat; and if you do not believe this, behold a very learned Perſon among you, pointing to* Guibert, *will bear witneſs, if it were needful, to the Truth of what I ſay.* Guibert ſaith, *he bluſhed at the mans impudence, and had a good mind to have contradicted him, but he ſtood too much in awe of the Perſons about him who were his abettors in ſo advantagious a lie to them.* But he ſaith, *neither Monks, nor Clergy men did abſtain from this baſe way of bringing gain to their Churches, viz.* by abominably cheating and abuſing the People. I hardly think any of the frauds of the Heathen Prieſts in their Temples and Oracles at *Delphi*, *Dodona* and other places could exceed theſe. Sect. 6.

Afterwards, he ſaith, *that the Acts of ſeveral of their Saints were taken out of old Womens Tales and Songs; and ſome things were written of them which were not fit for Plowmen to hear. And when they make their* Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

Saints

Saints to be of great Antiquity, yet they desire new Lives to be written of them. Which he confesses was a request often made to himself; but, saith he, *I am apt to be deceived in the things I see, what truth then could I write of the things which no man ever saw? If I should yield to such a request both I that write or preach such things, and they who desire them ought to be branded with publick infamy. But supposing the Saints to be true, yet they make lies about their Relicks,* so
Sect. 2. John Baptist's *head is said to be in two several places, and what can be more ridiculous than to make the Baptist have two Heads? one or other must cheat and deceive the people. His own predecessor St.* Godfridus *had a mind to make a translation of the body of St.* Firmin *as the people were to believe; after all the search they could make, they found not one syllable of any intimation of such a Body as St.* Firmins *lying there. But the Bishop of the City caused an inscription to be made upon the leaden coffin. Firminus* Martyr Ambianorum Episcopus. *This,* he said, *he had from the mouth of the said Bishop and another.* Were not these men fit to be made *Saints* of, who could so cunningly turn the body of any, though it may be the most wicked person, into the Relicks of a Saint or a Martyr, and so into an object of sacred veneration among the

the People? But to make the ſtory of this Tranſlation yet more pleaſant, *Guibert* tells us, *that about the ſame time the Monks of St.* Denys *made a ſolemn Tranſlation of the ſame Body of St.* Firmin; and *D'achery* takes great pains to prove that the Monks had the true Body; and yet the *Author* of the Life of St. *Godefrid*, ſaith, *that the people were invited by that Saint to prepare themſelves for the tranſlation at* Amiens *and to bring their gifts, and ſuch a concourſe of People came to it, that one would have thought all Europe had been there. Then the Biſhop with the Prieſts went to the place where the Sacred Treaſure lay, and expoſed the holy Relicks with great trembling to the Veneration of the People.* Are not theſe rare doings for Saints and holy Biſhops, thus horribly againſt their own Conſciences to abuſe the people? After theſe *Guibert* relates how *Odo Biſhop of* Bayeux *brother to* William *the firſt, bought the body of a Countryman called* Exuperius *of a Sexton for* 100. *pound and made a ſolemn Tranſlation of it for St.* Exuperius: *But*, he ſaith, *the inſtances of this kind are ſo numerous, that he had neither ſtrength nor time to relate the things which were done in this manner by thoſe who made gain their godlineſs.* It was a common thing in thoſe days to ſteal and ſell Relicks (of which

Lucas D'achery *not. in* Guibert *p.* 567.

Nicol. *vit. St.* Godefridi *l.* 2. *c.* 26.

Sect. 3.

Caygrave

Capgrave gives several examples) and to fight for them, as we find in *Colganus*; and there was a sort of wandring Monks called *Circelliones* who made a trade of this; *Greg. Turonensis* tells us of one *Desiderius* in the City of *Tours*, that pretended to work strange miracles, and that there were messengers passed between St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* and him; to whom abundance of people flocked, carrying the Blind and Lame to him to be healed, and that he deceived the people by his art. Another, (who was afterwards found to have been a Bishops servant) went about cloathed in white, carrying a Cross, at which hung two vessels in which he said holy oyl was contained; this man pretended to have come out of *Spain* and to have brought some Relicks of *Vincentius* and *Felix*; he went to *Paris* and drew the people after him; but the Ecclesiastical Officers causing him to be searched, instead of his Relicks found the teeth of Moles, the bones of mice, the claws of bears, and the roots of herbs, with which they supposed he made enchantments for the people; and of such persons *Gregory* saith our Saviours words are to be understood, *that many false Prophets shall arise doing signs and wonders.* But of these Impostors more afterwards.

Hugo Menard *not. in Concord. Regul. c. 3. p. 125.*

Greg. Turon *hist. l. 9. c. 6.*

Afterwards *Guibert* vehemently disputes against

againſt thoſe who pretended to the *Tooth of our Saviour* and the *milk of the Bleſſed Virgin*, and makes them *guilty of lying and forgery*: Lib 3. c. 1. c. 3. s. 4. and *derides the miracles that were wrought by the Monks as vain, fooliſh, and uncertain*, and concludes his Diſcourſe with ſaying, *that to make gain with carrying about or ſhewing the pretended Relicks of Saints is a profane thing*. c. 5. s. 1, 3, 4. Sect. 5.

Thus we ſee from the Authentick Teſtimony of ſo conſiderable an Author in his time how little credit was to be given to the *lives of the Saints*, or *their pretended Relicks and Miracles*. Yet ſtill this way of abuſing the people hath been upheld and practiſed, and their moſt ſolemn offices of Religion corrupted with ſhameful lies; for the ſtory of the ſeven ſleepers, and the 11000. Virgins, of St. *Chriſtopher* and others the moſt ridiculous Fables, were preſerved in their *Breviaries* and *Leſſons* of them read upon their days; as may be yet ſeen in the *Salisbury Breviary*, which was moſt in requeſt in *England*. And, which deſerves to be taken notice of, while they would by no means ſuffer the ſacred Bible to be in the hands of the People, they were well enough contented that ſenſleſs Book of the *Golden Legend* ſhould be publiſhed in *Engliſh* to be devoutly read by them. So much more did they think it their

intereſt to feed the people with lies and fables, than with the holy word of God; ſo much more advantageous was it for them to deceive than to ſave their ſouls. But, it may be, now they will pretend, *that things are otherwiſe with them, that the Golden Legend is out of requeſt, that the Breviaries are Reformed, the Martyrologies corrected, the Acts of the Saints ſet forth pure and free from Fables.* This laſt I have already ſhewed to be very far from being true, and we need no more to ſhew how little credit they deſerve than what the collections of *Surius*, *Ribadeneira*, *Bollandus*, *Colganus* and ſuch like will afford us. Their *Breviaries* and *Martyrologies* I grant are in ſome things reformed, but there are many Fables ſtill remaining in them, and ſome of the late Correctors of them inſtead of amending them have inſerted Tales that were never in before: as *Launoy* hath at large proved in ſeveral diſcourſes. One pleaſant paſſage, often mentioned by him, it may not be amiſs here to inſert, to ſhew the skill of the *Roman Correctors*. In the *Roman Martyrologie* on the twenty fourth of *January* in the Edition corrected by *Galeſinius*, and approved by *Gregory* 13. with his *Bull* before it; theſe words were inſerted, *Atque Antiochiæ Sanctæ Synoridis Martyris:* And *Baronius* in his learned *Anotations* upon this Place,

Joh. Launoy *deſq. diſquiſ. de Magdal. Maſſil. p.* 157.

Place, ſaith, *that St.* Chryſoſtom *ſpeaks of her* Homil. 4. de Lazaro, *and St.* Hierom *of another of that name a woman famous for Nobility and Piety.* How can they ever want *Martyrs* in the Roman Church, that can turn *Words* into *Martyrs!* For this Martyr *Synoris* in thoſe Authors is no more than the Greek word ζυγαρὶς which ſignifies a *Pair joyned together*, or *a Chariot drawn by a Pair*; and ſo St. *Chryſoſtom* there uſes it of *Juventius* and *Maximus* calling them ἅμ ἁγίων μαρτύρων ζυγαρίδα, and St. *Hierom* of *Juliana* and *Proba* calling them *Sanctam Chriſti Synoridem*: This was *Baronius* his Noble Martyr *Synoris*; it was ill for her, that ſhe happened to be firſt known in ſo unlucky a time, when ſome learned men (of *France* as I take it) ſent *Baronius* notice of this new Martyr, who being aſhamed of her, expunged her out of all Editions of the *Martyrologie* ſince *A.D.* 1586. notwithſtanding the *Popes Bull* in approbation of that Edition: But if it had been her good fortune to have been heard off a little ſooner, by this time we might have had an excellent *Legend* of her, diſtributed into ſeveral Leſſons in the *Breviary*, and the *Office* of a *Martyr* to be performed for her; we might have heard many pretty ſtories of her Childhood, and of her very early devotion to the Bleſſed Virgin for the ſake of her Sex;

how many ſtrange Miracles ſhe had wrought; and without doubt ſhe had been at leaſt the daughter of a Prince, and it may be the youngeſt daughter of *King Coſtus*. But ſo unhappy a thing it is to come into the world out of due time! for ſhe appeared but for a little time, and then vaniſhed quite out of ſight. Whereas if ſhe had come abroad ſome Ages before, who knows what a world of Good ſhe might have done by this time, being ſolemnly invocated, and might have been thought as proper for all that go in *Coaches*, eſpecially *with two Horſes*, as *St.* Antony is *for ſtollen Goods*, or St. *Apollonia* for the *Toothache*; or St. *Viarius* for the *Loyns*. This St. *Viarius* was another very pretty Saint, ſolemnly worſhipped near *Ebora* for a *Biſhop* and a *Martyr*, eſpecially for *the Cure of the Loyns*, when, God knows, it was only the name of an *antient Roman* Curator of the High-wayes, which they had met with in ſome inſcription, as *Andreas Reſendius* tells us. Who having the curioſity to ſearch the Antiquities of the Church where this *High-way Saint* was worſhipped; a grave Prieſt told him all the *Legend* of his *Martyrdom*, *Reſendius* deſired to ſee what Monuments of it they had, he preſently produces a *Roman Inſcription*, wherein were theſe words VIARUM CURANDARUM.

Andreas Reſend. de Martyr. Eborenſ. Ep. ad Barth. Kebed. p. 1007. *To.* 2. *Rerum Hiſpanic.*

Now

Now ſaid the cunning old Prieſt VIARUM that is plain his name was *Viarius*, and CURANDARUM is as much as if he ſhould have ſaid, *Cura curarum*, and that belonging only to a Biſhop, it was evident, this Martyr *Viarius* was a Biſhop. *Reſendius* kept his countenance, and complained he ſaith to the Biſhop of this worſhipping the Roman *Curator* for a Saint; but the people curſed him ſufficiently for it, they having received much help from him. But, methinks they ſhould have ſet out his life with all the circumſtances of it, as well as have known for what diſeaſe he was proper to be invocated. And *Beatus Rhenanus* tells us, how ſuch a thing might have been ingeniouſly done: for a certain Monk publiſhed the life of St. *Beatus* and called him *Suetonius*, and deſcribed many paſſages of his life; and ſaid he had a companion called *Achates*. *Beatus Rhenanus* being more than ordinarily inquiſitive after his name-ſake, goes to the man, and asks him whence he had this information, ſuppoſing he had ſome good Authority for it; but upon enquiry he told him, that he called him *Suetonius*, becauſe he heard he came out of *Sweden*, and he called his companion *Achates*, becauſe that was the name of *Æneas* his *Fellow Traveller*: and yet this admirable ſtory *Rhenanus* ſaith, was not only printed, but

Beat. Rhen. rer. Germ. l. 3. p. 161.

painted in Churches too. And which adds something more of Grace to it, *Dempſter* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* derives the antient and Noble Family of the *Setons* in *Scotland* from this St. *Suetonius*.

Dempſter Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 2. n. 159.

But what if after all theſe pretences to Miracles in the *Roman* Church, ſome of their own members that muſt know them, and were no way inconſiderable either for Authority, judgement or learning, ſhould declare that they believe no ſuch thing as the continuance of the Power of Miracles in the Church? Can any thing more invalidate the Teſtimony of thoſe who aſſert theſe Miracles than this? There was hardly a greater man for learning and judgement in his time than *Toſtatus Biſhop* of *Avila* in *Spain*, and he purpoſely diſcuſſes this Queſtion about the continuance of the Power of Miracles in ſeveral places. In his Commentaries upon *Leviticus*, he ſhews *that God made uſe of the Power of Miracles in the beginning of an Inſtitution, as of the Aaronical Prieſthood by fire coming from Heaven to conſume the Sacrifices; but when the Prieſthood was already confirmed, there was no need of any more Miracles in the conſecration of the following Prieſts: So*, ſaith he, *was it in the New Law, for in the beginning of it many Miracles were wrought, by and upon the New Converts:*

Toſtatus in Levit. c. 9. q. 14.

erts: but now there are no such things en. The reason whereof, is, because at first he faith of the Gospel was not confirmed in he minds of believers as it is now: and few elieved in Christ; therefore to bring men to aith, this power of Miracles was necessary, he matters of faith being uncapable of de-onstration; but now the Christian faith is fficiently confirmed, there is no need at all Miracles. The same he asserts more large-y in his Commentaries on St. *Matthew*, and one place puts this Question, *Why the Bi-ops and Preachers of the Church who suc-eed the Apostles do not work Miracles, as he Apostles did, since Miracles are for the onfirmation of the Christian faith?* To hich he answers, *That Christ doth not be-ow the gift of Miracles, but when it is ne-essary, or at least very useful; but now the ift of Miracles in these persons is neither rofitable nor useful; because we have argu-ents enough to perswade us to believe with-ut that; and therefore he determines that Miracles now would not be for the profit of he Church, but only for curiosity; and saith hat it is not meet that God should give this ower of Miracles, nor doth he. Nay, he uts the case of Heathens to be converted to he faith*; and to that he answers, *That it ight be either through their demerits, or*

Comment. in Matth. c. 3. q. 12. in Matth. 10. q. 21.

of those who go to them, that God denies the power of Miracles to convert them: but withal, saith *that the conversion of Infidels is not so necessary now as in the Apostles time, and therefore God doth not in this ordinarily bestow this gift on men, although he may do it in some extraordinary cases.* What shall we say now to the Testimony of this learned Bishop? had he never heard of St. *James* of *Compostella* and the Miracles pretended to be wrought there? and could he believe them, and write these things? Had he never heard of St. *Vincentius Ferrerius* who lived in some part of the same time with him, and if he had believed the Miracles reported of him, he would neither have put the Question, nor answered it so as he did. After him I shall produce the Testimony of *Fisher Bishop* of *Rochester* in his Answer to *Luther*, who to prove the necessity of interpreting Scripture by the continued sense of the Church, and not by the bare Letter, offers to produce *such words of Christ in which besides the matter of fact and the command there is a promise annexed; and yet,* saith he, *in our dayes no effect of this promise is seen:* and then brings the words of Scripture wherein it is said, *that Christ cured the blind and the lame, and cast out Devils, and he commanded his Disciples to do the same.*

Rosser. c. Luther de captivit. Babyl. c. 10. Sect. 4.

time, and makes a promiſe to them that ſhould believe in Chriſt. Mark 16. *that many ſigns ſhould follow them: and yet this promiſe,* ſaith he, *hath no effect now; for no man now caſts out Devils, nor heals diſeaſes, and yet no one queſtions but there are many that believe. But what then, was the promiſe of Chriſt of no effect? no,* ſaith he, *Chriſt intended it only for the firſt Ages of the Church; but when the Chriſtian faith was diſperſed over the world, there was no longer need of miracles.* Can any Teſtimony be more plain or weighty in our caſe than this, it being from one who undoubtedly knew all the pretences to miracles that were then made? *Eraſmus* expreſly ſaith, *that the gift of miracles (which was neceſſary to the firſt Ages of the Church for the converſion of Infidels, as ſpeaking with ſtrange Tongues, miraculous Cures, Propheſying, and ſuch like miracles) is now ceaſed.* *Stella*, not only ſaith, *that the power of miracles is ceaſed; but he ſaith that the receiving it would do more hurt than good; for men would ſay, that the Chriſtian faith was not ſufficiently confirmed before.* Of all caſes we might moſt reaſonably ſuppoſe that God ſhould, if ever, renew this gift in the converſion of Infidels; and yet *Franciſcus à Victoria* ſaith, *that he heard of no miracles or ſigns that were wrought for the*

Eraſm. in 1. Ep. ad Corinth. 13. 13.

Stella in Luc. 11. 29.

Victoria Relect. 5. p. 200.

Acosta de procurandâ Indorum Salute l. 2. c. 9, 10.

conversion of the Indians. Josephus Acosta at large debates this case, *why God doth not now give the power of miracles among those who preach to Infidels as he did of old?* and he offers at several reasons for it, of which this is the chief, *That miracles were necessary in the beginning of Christian Religion, but not now.* And if the Church be defective in the power of miracles where it is the most necessary, what reasonable ground can there be to think that God should imploy his power not for the satisfaction of Infidels, but of the credulous and superstitious? As God never works miracles to convince obstinate Atheists, so neither doth he to gratifie the curiosity of old Women and Pilgrims; but if ever he does it, it is to lay a sufficient foundation for those to believe, who are otherwise destitute of the means of faith. But if such persons who are imployed upon the work of converting Infidels do want the Testimony of miracles, I know no reason to believe that he imploys it for other ends. And if these persons had believed that the power of miracles had been any where else in the Church, they would have made that considerable objection to themselves, why God should give it where there was less need, and deny it where there was greatest?

But what then shall we say to the miracles pre-

pretended to be wrought by Xaverius *and others in the East-Indies?* I ſay, that if they were ſufficiently atteſted, we might be much more inclined to believe the Truth of thoſe miracles, than of the *Lady of Loretto* or St. *James of Compoſtella*, or any of the reſt which *E. W.* refers us to. For if it were at any time reaſonable to expect a power of miracles, it would be for the converſion of Infidels, and *Xaverius* and his companions, going upon ſo generous a deſign, might be favoured in it by ſome extraordinary effects of Divine Power. But then in all reaſon the miracles would be ſuch as were moſt accommodated to that deſign, as the ſpeaking with the Tongues in which they were to preach the Chriſtian Religion: but by the letters of *Xaverius* himſelf we find, that he was extreamly put to it for want of this gift of Tongues, both on the *Coaſt* of *Commorin* and eſpecially in *Japan:* for in one of his Letters *he laments his condition very much, becauſe the people being willing to learn, and he as willing to inſtruct them, for want of the language they converſed with each other like Statues; and when they asked him queſtions he could give them no anſwer; but by degrees* he ſaid, *he learnt to prattle like a Child among them.* Can any one now imagine that God had beſtowed the gift of miracles upon

Epiſtol. Japan. 3. p. 30.

Xaverius

Xaverius for propagating Chriſtianity, and yet ſhould deny him that, without which all other miracles would be to no purpoſe, if he could not deliver the doctrine thoſe miracles were to confirm, ſo as to be underſtood by the people? But in truth, I do not find that *Xaverius* himſelf in any of his *Epiſtles*, did make any pretence to the power of miracles; after his death indeed, the *Jeſuits* in thoſe parts to increaſe the glory of their Society, and their Brethren in theſe parts as readily concurring to ſuch a deſign, publiſhed ſome *miracles*, which they ſaid were wrought by him. So *Melchior Nunezius* in his *Epiſtle* to *Ignatius Loyola*, where he gives an account of the death of *Francis Xaverius*, ſaith, *that many things were diſcovered ſince his death, that were not known while he was alive*: and is not this a very probable circumſtance that he had a power of miracles? Would the Miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles have converted Infidels if they had not been known while they were living? And yet theſe miracles he reports are very few, and delivered on the ſingle teſtimonies of no very conſiderable men: *the reſt*, he ſaith, *for brevity's ſake he omits*; which is not very probable, conſidering how long he inſiſts upon the ſtory *of the miraculous incorruption of his Body after his deceaſe*. Which *Bellarmin* like-

Epiſt. Japan. t. p. 91.

likewiſe magnifies, viz. *That his Body being caſt into Lime was preſerved fifteen months entire and free from corruption.* What will not theſe men make miracles of, when they have a mind to it? When *Maffeius* ſaith, *that the Relicks of St.* Thomas *at* Meliapor, *were mixed with Lime and Sand*, which no doubt were deſigned to preſerve them from corruption. And *Paulus Zacchias* a learned Roman Phyſician hath declared, *that the incorruption of bodies by Salt, Nitre, or Lime, is ſo far from being a miracle, that it hath nothing of wonder in it.* And yet this muſt be cryed up as a ſtrange miracle in *Xaverius* his Body, which would have paſſed for a common accident in any one elſe, it being ſo well known to be an ordinary effect of nature; to preſerve bodies a long time from corruption by the uſe of things which are of ſo drying a nature as thoſe are. But as to all theſe miracles, whoſe relation we have from the *Jeſuits* in the *Eaſt Indies*, we are to conſider what credit their teſtimony deſerves with us; for if they are men who think it lawful to lye for a good cauſe (as no doubt the honour of their Society is ſuch with them) how can we with any tolerable diſcretion relye upon their words? And what will thoſe men ſtick at, who have had the impudence to inſert fabulous miracles and ſtories

Bellarm. de notis Eccl. l. 4. c. 14.

Maffei Hiſt. Indic. l. 8.

Paul. Zacchia Quæſt. Medico. legales l. 4. tit. 1. q. 10. n. 24.

Kirchman. de funeribus Rom. l. 1. c. 8.

Korman. de miraculis Mortuorum p. 3. c. 6.

ſtories into the very hiſtory of the Goſpel: For which we are to underſtand that *Acabar Emperour* of the *Mogols*, having given liberty to the *Jeſuits* to live in the City of *Agra*, deſired of *Hierome Xavier* the chief of them, (a kinſman of the former *Francis Xavier*, and *a man of ſuch an Apoſtolical Spirit*, ſaith *Alegambe*) an account of the life and miracles of Chriſt. The ſubtle *Jeſuit* very well underſtanding their own doctrine about *the obſcurity and inſufficiency of Scripture*, durſt not put into his hands the *four Evangeliſts*, but framed an excellent *Goſpel* of his own *A. D.* 1602. which he declares at the end of it, *to have taken out of the Holy Goſpel, and the Books of the Prophets:* and we may judge of his ſincerity by theſe paſſages. In the beginning of it, he relates the ſtory of the *Virgin Mary*, not as it is in the *Evangeliſts*, but as he had taken it out of a a ſilly Book *de Nativitate S. Mariæ* attributed to St. *Hierom*, but rejected not only by *Eraſmus*, but by *Baronius*, *Canus*, *Sixtus Senenſis*, and others; and the true Author is ſuppoſed by ſome to be *Seleucus* the *Manichee*; whether it were he or no, *Baronius* ſaith, *he was ſo ignorant as not to avoid manifeſt lyes:* however this new Evangeliſt thought him a fit Author for him to make a new Goſpel out of, the better to pleaſe the

Alegambe Bibliotb. Societ. Jeſu p. 188.

*Hiſtoria Chriſti Perſic. à Xaverio, Latine Edita à Lud. de Dieu p.*536

*Eraſm. Schol. in Ep. Hier. Baron. Apparat. n.*39, 44. *Cani Loc. Theolog. l.* 11. *c.* 6. *Sixtus Senenſ. Bibliotb. l.* 2. *in Matth.*

Great

Great Mogol. He tells him out of that Book that *Joachim* and *Anna* the *Parents of the Blessed Virgin, being very Rich and Childless had made a vow to God, if they had a Son to devote him to his service; one time* Joachim *went up to the Temple to offer up his Sacrifice there, and* Issachar *the High Priest rejected him* (a notorious lye, saith *Baronius*, for no such man as *Issachar* could be High Priest then) *upon which he and his Wife went away discontented; at last God sent an Angel to comfort* Joachim, *and told him he should have a daughter, and should call her name* Mary, *who should be filled with the Holy Ghost from her conception; and charged them to perform their vow about her education in the Temple;* he is so punctual as to set down *the very day of her conception and birth, and relates the occasion of keeping the Feast of her Nativity among Christians,* viz. *a revelation made to an Eremite that she was born the eighth of* September, *when the Eremite heard strange Melody in the Heavens upon that day; upon which* Innocent *the fourth appointed the Feast to be kept.* What *Gospel* and *Prophets* had this *Jesuit* met with to take these excellent stories from? But it must be from one of the *Prophets* indeed, since *Innocent* the fourth lived 1250. years since the birth of Christ. *The Blessed Virgin,* as *Xavier's* Gospel

Historia Christi p. 17

Xaver. p. 22 Gospel *goes on, at three years old, upon* Friday *the twenty first of* November *was carryed up to the Temple, and there shut up in a Holy place to be educated* (most of the modern Commentators on this new Gospel, tell us it was the *Holy of Holies*, which it seems was then turned into a *Nunnery*, *and for eleven years together*, they say, *she never went out of that place*; if any one should boldly ask what conveniencies she could have there: they readily answer, *that she needed none, being fed by Angels all that time with spiritual food.* So *Canisius*, *Poza*, and others in *Theophilus Raynaudus*; and *Benedictus Gonnus* adds, that *Zachary* Father to St. *John Baptist* saw the Angel that carried her meat to her; for which he quotes *Pantaleon* in *Metaphrastes*; (no doubt an excellent Author) but *Xavier* saith, *that for the most part she had her food from Heaven.* I omit *her vow of Virginity, the manner of her Espousals with* Joseph, *and the reason of them*, viz. *to cheat the Devil*; *the blossoming of* Josephs *Rod*; the particular description of the *Virgin Maries countenance* with *great blewish eyes, and golden locks*, &c. all which he sets off with as many circumstances, as if they had made a considerable part in our Gospels: but one of the greatest miracles of her beauty was, *that a wicked man by looking upon her was converted.*

Raynaud. Diptych. Marian. n. 10.

Bened. Gonon. Chronicon. Deip. p. 6.

Xaver. p. 25 p. 26, &c.

p. 30.

ibid.

converted. It was great pity then ſhe went no oftner abroad, that ſhe might have reformed the world by her Countenance. Afterwards he deſcribes the manner of the *Angels Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin* ſo exactly, p. 34. that it plainly appears, he deſpiſed the rudeneſs of the Evangeliſts in their manner of expreſſing it. *The Bleſſed Virgin*, ſaith he, *was then ſitting in her Parlour muſing upon that ſaying of* Eſaias, *A Virgin ſhall conceive*, &c. *and ſhe mightily deſired to ſee that Virgin, and wiſhed ſhe might be her handmaid, while ſhe was in theſe thoughts, an Angel comes in like a beautiful young man with great ſplendour, and falls upon his knees and fixed his eyes on the ground, and with great devotion ſaid* Ave Maria, &c. *She was not ſurprized*, ſaith he, *at the ſight of the Angel, for ſhe had often converſed with Angels before, but at his humble poſture, and the honour he gave to her.* Who can now doubt the lawfulneſs of praying to the *Bleſſed Virgin*, when the *Angel Gabriel* ſaid the *Ave Maria* upon his bended knees to her? *After the Angel had delivered his meſſage, ſhe made him wait*, ſaith *Xavier*, *till Midnight, before ſhe gave any anſwer; then*, ſaith he, *in the very point of Midnight, ſhe* p. 37. *fell upon her knees, and with her head downward, and eyes full of tears, and her arms a croſs,*

p. 41. *a croſs, ſhe ſaid, Ecce ancilla Domini, &c.*
Much in the ſame way he deſcribes the man-
p. 62. ner of her delivery, only that her eyes were
then lifted up towards Heaven. I paſs by
the fabulous miracles he relates concerning
p. 74. the birth of our Saviour, of which there is
not one word in Scripture, or any good Hi-
ſtorian: The ſtory of the wiſe men with their
p. 89. names *Melchior*, *Caſpar* and *Balthaſar*, of their
Kingdoms, and how their Bodies came to be
carried to *Cologn*, which was much for the
Great Mogols edification to know; the mi-
racle of the letter *Vau* blotted out by old Si-
p. 94. *meon*; which he found in the word after-
wards; the check the Angel gave him, and
how thereby he came to owne the Meſſias;
the care *Anna* had over the young Virgin
in the Temple, and the manner of obſerving
p. 98. her Feaſt with Wax Candles; the miracles
wrought in *Ægypt* at Chriſts being there; the
p. 101. miracle of the *Pool* of *Bethesda being cauſed*
by the wood of the Croſs, being hid there by King
p. 198. Solomon, *which floated in our Saviours*
time, and when they took it out for the cru-
cifying Chriſt, then the Pool loſt its vertue;
and abundance of other interpolations and
corruptions of the ſtory of the Goſpel; but
by theſe few, we may gueſs what ſincerity we
are to expect from ſuch men in the relating
the miracles of their own order, who cannot
keep

keep their hands off from forgery and impoſture, in relating the ſtory of the Goſpel. And after the ſame manner *Xavier* hath publiſhed the *Hiſtory of St. Peter*. But leſt any ſhould imagine that theſe Books were framed and ſet forth by ſome enemies to the *Jeſuits*, to the diſgrace of their Order, *Alegambe* confeſſes they were both written in the *Perſian Language* by *Hierome Xavier*, and faithfully tranſlated into *Latin* by *Lud. de Dieu*; ſome very few faults he takes notice of, but they are ſo ſlight, that they confirm his Authority in all the reſt: Let now any impattial man judge whether ſuch Perſons deſerve any faith in relating other miracles, that dare ſo horribly to adulterate and corrupt the very ſtory of the Bible? but they little thought theſe abominable frauds, would ever have come to light in theſe parts, to make us truly underſtand what kind of Goſpel it is which they propagated in the *Indies*; and how unlikely it is that God ſhould give the atteſtation of miracles to ſuch lewd forgeries. And thus much may ſuffice for comparing the credibility of the Teſtimony on which miracles are received in the *Roman* Church, with that upon which we believe the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Enough one would think, not only to ſtop the mouth of *E. W.* for the future, but even of Impudence it ſelf.

Of the Impostures and Forgeries of Miracles in the *Roman* Church.

§. 11. 3. I now come to shew the notorious frauds and impostures which have been discovered in the *Roman* Church in this point of miracles. It was an easie matter in an Age of Credulity and Ignorance to set up for a power of miracles; for few men were inquisitive into the nature and circumstances of things, and those who understood, generally the best in those times, were either Contrivers or Friends: yet it so fell out, that some notorious impostures have been discovered, which have differed in nothing from those which have passed for true miracles among them, but only in the fortune of being discovered. *Glaber Rodulphus* in his History, tells a story of his own knowledge of a certain Person that went up and down pretending to do great wonders; after the great feats he had done in *France*, he goes into the *Alps*; and there pretends to have found the Relicks of St. *Justus* the *Martyr*, the Countrey people flocked in to him, and they who came whole and sound were sorry they had no Disease or Lameness to be cured. But certain it is, saith the Historian, strange Cures were wrought there; the Bishops in whose Dioceses these things were done, instead of making strict enquiries, demanded money to give licence to deceive the People. At last,

Glabri Rodulphi Hist. l. 4. c. 3.

last, one *Manfred* a Great man in those parts caused the Body which wrought these miracles to be taken away and placed in a Monastery of his own erecting, and this *Relick-Finder* grew into great request with him, promising to discover more precious Relicks than these, and he told him the names of the Martyrs, and manners of suffering very exactly. Some persons, among whom the Historian himself was one, asked him how he knew these things; he told them, that an Angel appeared to him in the night, and told him all the things he desired to know; and lifted him out of his bed, and after many discourses, they parted very lovingly. Although some of them suspected the imposture, yet the Bishops who consecrated the Church with great Pomp, and applause of the People, who were innumerable, solemnised the translation of these Relicks. And although afterwards the wiser sort found out the cheat, and that the Body was taken at a venture in the night out of a Grave, yet the work of miracles went on as well as if the Martyr had been there, and the People still continued in the belief of it. This the Historian saith, he purposely inserted to discover the imposture of those pretended miracles. *Gulielmus Neubrigensis* gives an account of a seditious person in *London* in the time of *Richard the first* called *William*

Guil. Neubrigens. de rebus Anglicis l. 5. c. 20, 21.

William Longbeard, who ſtiled himſelf the *Saviour of the Poor*, and had gotten ſo great an intereſt among the People, that he had two and fifty thouſand men at his command; at laſt he was ſeized on and executed; but after his death the people cryed him up for a *Martyr*, and a Prieſt got one of his Chains and gave out that he cured one ſick of a Fever by it; the people being encouraged by this, took away the very Gallows where he hung in the night, and all the earth about it where any of his blood was ſuppoſed to be ſpilt, and they digged ſo far as to make a Pitt with carrying away the earth for the Cure of Diſeaſes. By theſe inſtances we ſee what a diſpoſition the people were in, to be deluded under a pretence of Relicks and Miracles.

But it may be ſaid, *that ſuch impoſtors may be in any Religion, and this reflects no more diſhonour on the* Roman *Church, than* Simon Magus *did upon the Apoſtles:* I proceed therefore to ſhew, that Perſons who have been countenanced and encouraged in that Church have been found guilty of impoſture. At the latter end of the twelfth Century appeared one *Fulco*, a man very famous for the great miracles wrought by him, and his extraordinary way of preaching. He was, ſaith *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, a plain Countrey Prieſt, very

Jacob. de Vitriaco Hiſtor. Occidental. c. 6.

ery ſimple and illiterate, who had been a
oſe and diſſolute man, but being now re-
ormed, to the Univerſity of *Paris* he goes
o get ſome Authorities and Moral Docu-
ents in his Note-books, which ſaith he, he
niſhed himſelf with, as ſo many ſmooth
ones to deſtroy *Goliah*. Being thus far armed
e pretends a Commiſſion from Heaven to go
broad to preach in all places, and gave out
hat the *Bleſſed Virgin* appeared to him, and
ad fitted him for that work, and bad him go
reach repentance in all places, and that ſhe
ad beſtowed the Gift of Healing upon him,
s *Otto de Sancto Blaſio* tells us. Upon this, *Otto de Sancto Blaſio append. ad Otton. Friſing. c. 47. Jac. de Vitr. c. 8.*
e preaches at *Paris* to the great admiration
f his hearers, who looked on him as a per-
g inſpired, ſaith *Jacob. de Vitriaco*, and as
nother *St. Paul*; which preaching was ſo
ffectual with many of the people, as to make
hem take off their Garments and Shoo's, and
arrying Whips in their hands, to caſt them-
elves at his feet to receive penance. After
his way he went over all *France*, and a great
art of the *Empire*, and came over into *Eng-*
nd, as our Hiſtorians tell us, and preached
efore *Richard the firſt*, by the ſame token he
alled him *Hypocrite*, to the great regret of
ome of our Hiſtorians; but it ſeems he ſtaid
ot long here, but away he went for *France*
gain: *Hoveden* tells us that the Clergy of *Matth. Weſtmonaſt. A.D. 1197. Knighton l. 2. p. 2412. apud 10. Scriptoris. Hoveden. Annal. p. poſt. p. 448.*

Liſieux in *Normandy* caſt him into Priſon but he made a ſhift to get from thence quickly, and went to *Caen* where he was again imprisoned by the Governour of the Caſtle; and eſcaping thence, he caſt off the the duſt of his feet againſt them: But although the *King* of *England* had ſo mean an opinion of him the people in *France* thought they could not ſufficiently adore him. For *Jac. de Vitriaco* ſaith, that they thought themſelves happy who could get any piece of his Garments, ſo much that he was fain almoſt every day to put on a new habit: which one day the people tore ſo unreaſonably, that he deſired them that they would not tear his Garments which were not bleſſed, but he would bleſs the habit of one that ſtood by him, which he did no ſooner done, but the people did tear it in a thouſand pieces, and preſerved them for Relicks: They preſſed ſo much upon him ſaith the ſame Grave Author, that he was forced to beat them off with a Staff in his hand; and although he wounded ſome with his blows, yet they were ſo far from being diſpleaſed at it, that they kiſſed the blood which came from them, as being ſanctified by his ſtrokes: (for his Hair Shirt and Penance made him very *Cholerick*). Never any man had greater reputation for miracles than this; for where ever he came, it was given

Jac. de Vitriaco c. 8.

but that he cured all Diſeaſes; as all the Hiſtorians that mention him agree; but *Otto* gives the moſt particular account of them, which he ſaid he had from one *Bertoldus de Nuberc*, who ſaw him; when any dumb were brought unto him he opened their mouths, and breathed into them, and commanded them to ſpeak; which if they did not preſently, he gave them a good blow on the cheeks, and then they ſpake. He made a very infirm Boy leap off his Horſe and run before him with holding up his Staff, as one ready to ſtrike him. But never was poor man ſo ſerved as the rich Uſurer was by him, (for we muſt know his great zeal was againſt Uſury) he ſeeing *in the Spirit*, ſaith *Bertoldus*, that this man was prædeſtinated to life, took an occaſion to dine with him; and aſſoon as he was gone into his houſe, he asked what he had to Dinner; the man told him he need not trouble himſelf about that, he would provide as well for him as the City would afford; he was not ſatisfied with this, but would needs go into the Kitchin and have all ſet before him, which was no ſooner done, but he (very ſpightfully, ſo near Dinner time) turns all into Frogs and Serpents; upon which the poor Uſurer fell upon his knees and begged pardon for all his faults. But *Fulco* told him, both he and all his proviſi-

ons were unclean; and there was no way for him to escape, but to give away all that he had; which the Usurer in a little time after told him he had done; but it seems he had forgotten a quantity of Wheat which was yet left. *Fulco* hearing of it, takes the Usurer with him, and goes to the place where it lay, and found it full of Toads and Serpents; then he tells him, if he would be perfect, and certain of Gods mercy, he should go naked into that *Granary*, then he promised him eternal life; which command he presently obeyed, and then *Fulco* shut up and sealed down the cover of it, and commanded all not to come near it till next morning; then great multitudes flocked to see what was become of the man, and they found nothing but a mans bones whiter than Snow; which he took out, and declared them to be holy Relicks, and caused them to be laid up accordingly. By this one miracle attested by one, who saith, he saw his miracles, we may judge of the man and his miracles. However, this man was thought a fit instrument to be imployed by the Pope to preach up a *Croisade* (for their Holinesses have thought fit to make use of such false pretenders to Inspiration and Miracles, as the fittest men to manage their designs, as *Peter* the *Eremit* by *Urban the second*, and this man by *Innocent*

the

the third) For *Otto* ſaith expreſly that he preached by the Popes Authority: and the *Chronicon Andrenſe* lately publiſhed by *D'achery*, affirms the ſame: *Raynaldus* mentions the Letters which were ſent him from *Innocent the third*; and *Jacobus de Vitriaco* ſaith, that at laſt, he carryed the Croſs upon his ſhoulders, and perſwaded Princes and others to an Expedition to the *Holy Land*; and by this means he heaped up abundance of wealth together; and from that time, ſaith the ſame Author, his Authority and Reputation began to decline, and not long after he dyed of a Fever at *Neulli* in his own Pariſh Church, where he began his work. *Otto* hath no mind at all to ſpeak of his end, but only ſaith, that men cannot tell what became of him, after the ſtories of his miracles, nor what end he made; at which, he ſaith, the wiſer men were exceedingly ſcandalized; but he thinks he might be honeſtly defended. But *Rigordus* who lived in the ſame time with him, intimates his mind ſufficiently about him, when after mentioning his miracles and preaching, he ſaith, *but if a man deſires to know with what intention a man preaches, he muſt look to his end, becauſe the end doth moſt clearly diſcover the intention of the heart.* By which it is eaſie to underſtand what kind of perſon he thought this

D'acherii Spicileg. Tom. 9. p. 520.

Raynald. ad A. D. 1198. n. 38.

Rigord. de Geſtis Philippi A. D. 1198.

Fulco

Fulco to be. One of the greateſt companions of this *Fulco*, was one *Petrus de Ruſciaco* or *de Ruſciâ*, who had likewiſe gained a great reputation for preaching poverty till he made himſelf exceſſively rich, and by that means, ſaith *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, he not only made his own doctrine contemptible, but brought a great ſcandal upon all the Diſciples of *Fulco*. And *Robertus Antiſſiodorenſis* an Author of that time, acknowledges that the devotion of the people occaſioned by theſe Preachers ſpeedily declined, and many that ſeemed to be reformed of their vices, returned to the practice of them. But *Jacobus de Vitriaco* adds afterwards, that many falſe Prophets and deceivers went abroad under the ſame pretence of extraordinary preaching; and which is more, that they were ſent by the Biſhops of ſeveral Churches to get money from the people for the repair of their Churches; and *Antiſſiodorenſis* expreſly ſaith, that *Fulco* went abroad to preach in his itinerant manner by the Inſpiration of God, and the Licence of his Biſhop.

Jac. de Vitriaco. c. 8. Hiſt. Occid.

Rob. Antiſſiod. Chron. ad A. D. 1198.

Jac. de Vitriaco c. 10.

Within leſs than forty years after this *Fulco*, appeared another famous Impoſter pretending to work great miracles called *Johannes de Vincentia*, or *Vicença* in *Italy*, of the *Dominican Order*, ſay the moſt Hiſtorians, although *Vignier* makes him a *Cordelier*. This man

was

was imployed by Pope *Gregory* the 9th in the time of his Troubles with *Frederick the ſecond* to the City of *Bononia*, and prevailed ſo much upon them, ſaith *Sigonius*, by the reputation of his Learning and Sanctity, that in a little time he had gotten the whole power of the City in his hands. But that which chiefly gained him ſo great authority, was the opinion of his great miracles; for *Guido Bonatus*, who lived in that time, and ſaith he ſaw him, affirms that he had made the People believe *he had Revelations from God, and that by his command the dead were raiſed*: *Spondanus* out of *Thomas Cantipratenſis* mentions ſeven, *Vignier* eighteen that had been raiſed by him from the dead, and adds, that his companions gave out, that he cured all Diſeaſes, caſt out Devils, and did many other miracles: but after a while, he ſaith, his impoſture was diſcovered, but not before he had gotten twenty thouſand Marks of Silver to his Convent: and *Guido Bonatus* ſaith of himſelf, that he was thought an Heretick for ſuſpecting his impoſture from the beginning. *Matthew Paris* ſaith of him, that he loſt all his eſteem through his pride and bad company. *Spondanus* knows not what to ſay to this judgement of *Matthew Paris*, finding him on one ſide ſo highly commended by Pope *Gregory the ninth* in his Letters to him,

Sigon. de Regno Italiæ l. 17.

Fulgoſ. l. 1. tit. de Relig. cultu c. 1.

Spondan. Annal. Eccl. A.D. 1233. n. 10.

Vignier Hiſtor. de l'Egliſe A.D. 1264.

Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. A.D. 1238.

him, and on the other such evident Testimonies, that in a little time he lost all the Authority he had in *Bononia*. But it is plain by the Letters of Pope *Gregory* extant in *Raynaldus*, that he looked on him as one inspired, and that had a gift of miracles; for he solemnly *gives thanks to Jesus Christ for the great miracles wrought by him*, which he parallels with those wrought by *Moses* in the presence of *Pharaoh* for the redemption of the *People* of *Israel*; and it is as evident, that some of the learnedst men in the *Roman* Church look on him as a meer impostor. For the famous Jesuit who writ the *Diatribe* against the *Dominicans* under the name of *Petrus de Valle clausâ*, reckons up this man among the notorious cheats of that Order: and he who writ in vindication of the Order hath very little to say for him, but only that the Pope had a better opinion of him: which it seems the Jesuit who knew the Popes correspondence with him well enough, did not think sufficient to excuse him from imposture. And yet after all this, *Bzovius* for the honour of his Order, attributes to him wonderful sanctity and miracles; and makes him to have cured abundance of Diseases with the sign of the Cross, to have raised up ten men from the dead: adding, that once when he was praying, there appeared a Cross in his forehead,

Odoric. Raynald. A.D. 1233. n. 35, 37, 38.

Petri de Valle-clausâ diatrib. adver. Cyriacos Sect. 11.

Joh. Casalas Candor Lilii Vindicatus p. 431.

Bzov. Annales A. D. 1232. n. 2.

forehead, another time over his head; and that a bright Star was seen over him, and an Angel whispering in his ear. Judge now Reader, what credit these Reporters of miracles in the *Roman* Church do deserve from us: when such Persons who are by their own order cryed up for the workers of miracles, are by others of their own Church condemned for meer impostors.

But one of the most notorious impostures which ever came to light, was that of the *Dominicans* at *Bern*; the substance of which, I shall give from the Authentick relation it self as it was published *A. D.* 1509. very soon after the thing was done. It seems the Controversie about the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin had caused great heats in *Germany*, and all sorts did favour the Defenders of it; which extreamly discontented the *Dominicans*, who found that the *Franciscans* gained ground of them chiefly upon the Authority of some Revelations and miracles. The *Dominicans* therefore considered how they might vye with their Adversaries in these things, and resolved to have Revelations from the Blessed Virgin against the immaculate conception, and to have as good Marks of Christs wounds in their Order as St. *Francis* had; but such a design required a good Theatre to act it on, where it might

De 4. Hæresiarchis Ordinis Prædicatorum, &c. apud Suittenses in Civitate Bernensi combustis A D. 1509.

might not be discovered, and yet be sufficiently known; at first they thought of *Francfort*, then of *Norimberg*, but at last they pitched upon *Bern*, as most convenient, by reason of the simplicity and ignorance of the People. Four Persons were imployed as the chief Actors in it, although with the consent and knowledge of the Provincial; the first was *Johannes Vetter* the *Prior* of the *Convent*, the second *Stephanus Bolshort* their Preacher, the third *Franciscus Ulschi* the *Sub-prior*, the fourth *Henricus Steinscer* the *Procurator* of the *Convent*. Not long after, an occasion happened for them to begin their design, a plain simple Taylor called *Johannes Jetso* happened to desire to be admitted a *Lay-brother*, at first they scorned him, but finding he had money, they consented to his Admission; after they had tryed him they found him a fit Person to practise upon. Accordingly the *Sub-prior* in the night threw stones into his room, and made dreadful noises to affright him with the apprehension of Spirits disturbing him; the next day they gave him Wax Lights and holy Water and some sacred Relicks to arm him, so that he might have the courage to talk with the Spirit, and they informed him what he was to say to it. The next night the Spirit, *viz.* the *Sub-prior* comes again, and puts the poor Taylor into a miserable

rable fright, so that he durst not answer as he was instructed; then the Spirit comes and seizes upon his Throat, as though he were going to choak him, at which he cryed out and desired to know how he might help him; for he was told it was the Soul of one in Purgatory that came for relief; then the Spirit told him he must discipline himself for eight dayes till the blood came, and cause eight Masses to be said for him: and to say himself fifty *Pater Nosters*, and as many *Ave Maria*'s for him, and at every one to kiss the ground in remembrance of *Judas* his kiss to Christ, and then he should be delivered: all this he promised to discover to his Superiors; the Spirit bid him not be affrighted, for he was to come again six dayes after, and to bring others with him: Immediately these things were publickly performed, and mighty flocking of the people there was upon the noise of it, and the *Dominicans* were cryed up to the great disgrace of the *Franciscans*. Against the next time, (when *Stephen* whom they appointed his *Confessor*, had found him, not mistrusting in the least any trick in it) they told him they would certainly try whether he was a good or evil Spirit, by two pieces of the *Blessed Sacrament* which they would have ready against the time the Spirit was to appear again. The Spirit comes at

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the time appointed with two more: but the honeſt Taylor having now gotten heart by the preſence of the Hoſt, adjures the Spirit to anſwer him, and to tell him his buſineſs. Then the Spirit revealed to him, that the other two were his Tormentors which immediately vaniſhed away; that he had been in Purgatory one hundred and ſixty years, that the *Dominican* Order was the beſt in the world, that ſome were in Purgatory for contradicting St. *Thomas* his opinion about the maculate conception; that the City of *Bern* ſhould be deſtroyed, unleſs the *Franciſcans* were expelled out of it, that *Scotus* was in Purgatory for aſſerting the immaculate conception, with many other particulars concerning himſelf which they had learnt from him in confeſſion. After this the Spirit appeared in the Form of St. *Barbara*, and told him the other Spirit would now return no more; but that the *Bleſſed Virgin* would appear ſuddenly to him; which accordingly happened, and then revealed to him that the Pope would ſhortly determine againſt the immaculate conception, and in favour to him told him, that ſhe gave him ſome of the Swadling Clouts *Jeſus* was wrapt in, and a Vial full of her Sons Blood (ſuch another I ſuppoſe as that at St. *Maximins* in *France*) with ſeveral other particulars too large to be mentioned.

ned. The most remarkable thing after this was, the next appearance of the *Blessed Virgin*, who expressed a great kindness to him, and a favour she would confer upon him in token of her maculate conception: then she desired him to put out his hand, at first he was unwilling, but durst not refuse, then the Spirit drove a great Nail into his hand, and made a wound in it, and bad him keep it open with *aqua fortis* and other corrosives, the next night she brings him Clouts to lay to it, such as St. *Francis* had, but fearing he should not hold out with the other four wounds, a Water was given him which deprived him of all sense, and then were the rest made, which when he came to himself he wondred at, and was ready to believe indeed that they came from Heaven; and wondred at himself how like St. *Francis* he was: Then they taught him to imitate Christs sufferings in his carriages, by stretching out his arms and hanging down his head in publick: which drew a strange concourse of people to see him, and when they gave him the Water, then the *Prior* told them, that he expired with devotion: after this, they perswaded him to great mortification and abstinence; that it might be thought he had deserved these revelations and wounds by his great merits. At last the poor man discovered his Confessors voice in

the habit of the *Blessed Virgin*, and cryed out he was cheated; then another came with the Host all bloody in his hands, as they had coloured it, and assured him he was the *Blessed Virgin* whom he doubted of before: but his suspicions still increased by their endeavours to take them away. Then he resolves to leave the Convent, which they perceiving, at last drew him to consent to the carrying on the design: which when he had done, they began to shew new tricks to the people, making the Image of the *Blessed Virgin* to weep, by the help of one *Lazarus* a Painter, and *Jetzer* to embrace it so fast in a posture of devotion, that he could not be stirred from it, till the bloody *Eucharist* was brought. But *Jetzer* was at length tired out, with the severities they used towards him, and afraid of being poysoned to prevent the discovery, and so escaped out of the Convent, and then declared all this Imposture to the Magistrates, upon which they were all seized upon, and after many delayes used in the prosecution of them at the Court of *Rome*, they were at last burned, and their ashes cast into the River, lest they should be preserved for Relicks; as the Author of the Relation confesses they were accounted Martyrs by some and thought to be very unjustly condemned and executed. And no doubt, the violent pro-

prosecution of them was due to their inveterate enemies the *Franciscans*; otherwise, they might have escaped as other impostors had done before them. But the pretending to the wounds of St. *Francis* was an unpardonable fault with them; and to be expiated with nothing less than death.

This story, is not only thus related in this *Book* published on purpose (which I have by me) but the truth of it is confessed by *Trithemius*, by *Peter Martyr Anglericus*, by *Baselius*, by *Surius*, by *Del Rio*, by *Spondanus*, and by *Petrus à Valle-clausa*, all of them far enough from being suspected of any enmity to the *Roman* Church. *Bzovius* thought it the best way to take no notice at all of it, and so did *Genebrard*, *Gaultier*, considering what a dishonour it reflects on them, by the occasion it gives to suspect other frauds and impostures which have been managed by better hands. But the late *Dominican* Apologist *Joh. Casalas* would needs have it all to be a meer contrivance of *Reuchlin* out of his hatred to the *Monks*; which is so ridiculous and absurd an evasion, that it appears by it he had never seen the Authentick Relation of it. But he tells us, that *Antonius Senensis* in his *Bibliotheca Ordinis Prædicatorum* justifies the men that suffered, saying that they suffered innocently, being oppressed

Trithem. Chronicon Spanheim. A.D. 1509. Petr. Mart. Ep. 341, 402. Basil addit. ad Naucler. Surii. Commentar. rerum gest. Del Rio disquisit. Magic. l. 4. c. 1. q. 3. sect. 4. Spondan. Ann. A. D. 1508. n. 5. Petrus à Valle-clausâ sect. 99. Candor Lilii Vindicat. p. 421.

by their enemies. So impossible is it for the greatest frauds and impostures as to Revelations and Miracles, to want Friends in the *Roman* Church.

But we must not think this sort of impostures was confined only to the *Dominican Order*, for the *Franciscans* at *Orleans* were found out in the counterfeiting a Mute Spirit, representing the soul of a woman deceased that made signs she was damned for being a *Lutheran*, which was found to be nothing else but a Novice of their Order appointed by them to act that part: but after full discovery of the matter of fact they were preserved from punishment for the reputation of their Order, in a time when the design was to persecute the *Lutherans*. This story I confess is related by *Sleidan*, but I do not find it contradicted by any of their own Authors.

Sleidan. Comment. l. 9. A. 1534.

Of the same Seraphical Order, and not long after that time, appeared in *Spain* a notorious *Impostor* called *Magdalena de la Cruz*, and confessed to be such by *Ribadineira*, *Del-Rio*, *Benzo* and others: She was Abbess of the *Franciscan Nuns* in *Corduba*, and these miracles are reported of her, that being invocated in a storm at Sea, she appeared to the Mariners, and the storm ceased, that she was frequently lifted up in Trances into the Air, that once being so lifted up, she received

Ribadineira de vit. Ignatii l. 5. c. 10. Del-Rio disquis. Mag. l 2. q. 18, 25. Benzo Hist. Novi orbis l 3. c. 16.

ceived the Hoſt, which came out of the hands of the Prieſt through the Air and entred into her mouth, that when ſhe was in the Garden, and the Sacrament by chance paſſed by in the Street, the Wall of the Garden opened that ſhe might worſhip the Hoſt, that for many dayes ſhe lived only upon the bleſſed Sacrament. Her reputation by means of theſe Miracles was ſo great, that the great Ladies of *Spain* being at the point of Childbirth ſent to her their Child-bed-linnen to be bleſſed by her. Nay, the Empreſs her ſelf, ſent hers from *Valladolid* to *Corduba*; and the Emperour undertook no great expedition without conſulting her; and deſiring her prayers; and yet after all theſe things the *Dominican* Inquiſitors being jealous of the growing reputation, by her means, of the *Franciſcan* Order, found a pretence to ſeize upon her, and upon examination condemned her for a notorious impoſtor.

Such another was *Maria de la Viſitacion*, Prioreſs *de la Annuntiada* in *Lisbon* (of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere on another occaſion) but ſhe was of the *Dominican Order*, (for theſe two Orders of *Mendicants* ſtill did ſtrive to out-match each other in theſe pretended Saints and Miracles, and by their mutual jealouſies and animoſities theſe impoſtures came to be diſcovered, without

which they had paſſed among the people as current as thoſe of the Founders of the two Orders). About her a Book was publiſhed in French by *Stephen de Luſignan* a *Dominican Frier*, printed at *Paris* by *John Beſſant A.D.* 1586. with this Title, *The great miracles and moſt holy wounds which this preſent year* 1586. *have happened to the right reverend Mother, now Prioreſs of the Monaſtery* de la Annuntiada *in* Lisbon, *of the Order of Preaching Friers, approved by the reverend Father Frier* Lewis *of* Granada, *and other perſons worthy of credit*; in his dedication to the Queen of *France* he ſaith, that he had publiſhed the greateſt miracles that ever Almighty God in our times hath wrought in the perſon of a moſt noble, moſt vertuous, and moſt religious Virgin, moſt devoted to the Holy Sacrament, and St. *Thomas* of *Aquine*: by whoſe merits and interceſſions ſhe hath deſerved to have viſibly for her Husband Jeſus Chriſt crucified, his five moſt holy Wounds, by means whereof the Divine Majeſty doth continually divers miracles. In the Letter of the Provincial *F. Antonio de la Cerda* ſent to *Rome* to be ſhewed to the Pope, and afterwards printed by order, are theſe paſſages concerning her. Mother *Mary de la Viſitacion* at eleven years of Age entred into the Monaſtery *de la Annuntiada*, and

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at ſixteen years made profeſſion. In which time our Lord Jeſus Chriſt appeared to this Religious, to recompence her merits, and took her to his Spouſe, ſaying to her the words of the Prophet *Jeremy*, *I have loved thee with an everlaſting love*, &c. And from that time forward, he ſtill appeared to her; granting her many particular favours, ſpeaking and converſing familiarly with her, as one Friend doth with another, as God talked and diſcourſed with *Moſes*; and oft times he appeared to her accompanied with Saints of both Sexes, as with *Mary Magdalene*, *St. Dominick*, *St. Thomas* of *Aquine*, *St. Katharine* of *Siena*, and ſometimes alone, and was very familiar with her, helping her to ſay the Canonical Hours, and at the end of every Pſalm ſhe would ſay, *Gloria Patri, & tibi, & Spiritui Sancto:* he tells ſtrange ſtories, of her Raptures and Extaſies, of her miraculous Cures of Diſeaſes; and how the Hoſt came of its own accord to her mouth out of the place where it was kept: of her miraculous wounds in imitation of St. *Francis*, made by Chriſt himſelf with beams of fire iſſuing from him in her ſide, hands and feet, which opened on *Frydayes*; and how ſhe was often ſeen, with a glory about her, lifted up into the Air. To theſe *Lewis* of *Granada* adds, that for ſeven years every

Thurſday, at the *Ave Mary* hour ſhe felt in her head all the pains of the Crown of Thorns, and ſhe had ſome marks of thoſe thorns in her head, and the pains endured till *Friday* the ſame hour. Many more particular miracles the Provincial relates of her; as the curing of a Cancer, by applying one of the Clouts to it which was taken from the wound in her ſide; and that inſtruments were made of the truth of this by a publick Notary: and of other Diſeaſes, by pieces of the Croſs given by her; from which *Luſignan* among other concluſions draws this, that miracles have ever continued in the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Church. Such kind of miracles I grant have, but I think not much to the credit of it. *Sixtus* 5. was over-joyed at the News of theſe glorious miracles, as he expreſſed in his Letter to that purpoſe to Cardinal *Albertus* of *Auſtria*, dated at *Rome*, *Septemb.* 10. 1584. ſubſcribed *Antonio Prucha Badulini*. And ſo great was her reputation in *Spain*, that ſhe was choſen to bleſs the Standard Royal in the *Spaniſh Armada* 1588. which was performed with a mighty ſolemnity. After all which, in the beginning of 1589. ſhe was condemned for an Impoſtor, and a Book publiſhed ſhewing the manner how ſhe deceived the people in this pretence of miracles.

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Ribadineira mentions such another impostor, *viz.* a Nunn at *Bononia*, which imitated the pains of our Saviour on the Cross, and saith, that she had the wounds in her hands and side, and the pains of the Crown of Thorns on her head, which dropt blood from them; but she had at last a very bad end; the observation of which impostures made, saith he, *Ignatius Loyola* in his old Age vehemently to suspect, those frequent Extasies, Visions and Revelations, which himself had pretended to as much as any in his younger dayes. And afterwards he excuseth *Ignatius Loyola* for not having his sanctity so attested with miracles as some expected; and saith, that miracles are not necessary in our times. This he writ *A. D.* 1572. but although he knew *Ignatius* as well then as ever he did afterwards, yet when the design of Canonizing *Ignatius* began to be managed by the *Society*, then *Ribadineira* changed his story, and in the lesser account of his life published afterwards, pretends to abundance of miracles that were wrought by him. By which we may easily guess of what credit those miracles are, which so intimate a Friend of *Ignatius* knew nothing of, till it was thought to be much for the honour of their Society, that he should be Canonized. And it is observable, that the miracles mentioned by *Ribadineira*

Ribadineir. vit. Ign. Loyolæ l. 5. c. 10.

dineira were such, only which are most lyable to fraud and imposture, *viz.* casting out of Devils in their way, of which there are so many notorious instances in the *Roman* Church.

Hasen Muller. Histor. Jesuitici Ordinis c.8.

Hasenmullerus who had been himself a Jesuit, relates that his Brethren at *Rome* told him, that a Woman possessed with a Devil followed *Ignatius*, and cryed, *Thou only art able to deliver me*, then *Ignatius* turning about repeated this Verse of *Virgil*,

Speluncam Dido, Dux & Trojanus eandem.

At which (for there is an unknown quality in these words for casting out Devils) the Devil threw the Woman down, and going out of her cryed, *O thou Son of* Loyola, *like a Lyon thou sendest me to Hell, but I beseech thee send me any where else*; then *Ignatius* taking pity on the poor Devil, bid him go whither he would, so he possessed no body after: at which the Woman was delivered: and as the Jesuit *Turrian* said, she was a devout servant of *Ignatius* all her dayes. Another time, a servant of Cardinal *Farnese* was possessed with a sullen Devil, that was resolved not to be cast out, but only by *Ignatius*; he was then called by the People, and he told them, *he knew that Devil well enough,*

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he thinks to laugh at me and you too, but he shall be deceived. Therefore he gives a Brother of his Order one of the *Beads* of his *Rosary*, which was consecrated by *Pius the fifth*, and bid him come behind the possessed person (was that fair dealing to come behind the Devil?) and to touch him, and say softly, *I adjure thee in the name of the Virgin* Mary, *and by command of my Father* Loyola, *and by the virtue of this blessed Bead to be gone.* Immediately the Devil cryed out, that *Loyola* tormented him; but no persons saw him there abouts: the Devil then explained himself saying, that his Bead was of more force than all their Exorcisms; and so left him.

The same Author tells us of his own knowledge, that at *Landsperg* in *Germany*, there was a Carter that went to his Parish Priest and told him, that the Devil did often drive him to his doors, but would not go in himself, nor let him go in; not long after, this fellow was taken and condemned for Thievery, but he pretended he was possessed with a Devil; the *Jesuits* hearing of it, came to him, and made use of all their Exorcisms, but to no purpose. At last the Rector of the Colledge remembring *Ignatius* his cunning way of coming behind the Devil, follows his method, and with an *Agnus Dei* commands the Devil

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in the name of the *Virgin Mary* to be gone, but the obſtinate Devil told him plainly he would not be gone, unleſs the man were ſaved from hanging. Forthwith, the *Jeſuits* got his Pardon, and the Devil was preſently gone, and the man went away and laughed in his ſlieve, and told others afterwards, he counterfeited being poſſeſſed, only to eſcape hanging. But however the *Jeſuits* boaſted of this as a great miracle, and commended the uſe of *Agnus Dei*'s very highly for this, and ſold abundance of them (as Mountebanks do their Medicines) to the People, that were willing to be cheated. And one of the Fathers of the Society called *Lutz* made a Sermon to the People on the occaſion of this miracle, in commendation of *Agnus Dei*'s. Many other ſuch ſtories he relates of the *Jeſuits miracles.*

But we are not to imagine, that theſe ſubtle *Jeſuits* only caſt out Devils thus in other Countreys, for we have ſufficient evidence of this Faculty of theirs here at home: For which we are to underſtand, that in the years 1585. and 1586. the *Jeſuits* in *England* finding it neceſſary to animate their party towards a deſign then in hand, thought nothing would tend ſo much to it, as pretending to ſome great miracles. And nothing being more eaſie to be managed for the deceiving the

the People, than the casting out of Devils, where they never were, this they resolve upon. To this end they gave out, that the places where they intended to act this Scene were mightily haunted with Spirits, then they made choice of fit Persons to shew their tricks upon, which were hypochondriacal and distempered men, and some hysterieal and fearful Women, who had all of them their dependance on such as were fast friends to the design: twelve Exorcists were imployed to act their parts in this Scene under *Weston* or *Edmonds* the *Jesuit*, who was the chief Contriver and Manager of it. It happened that three of the Maid servants had been Protestants; these they told that the Protestants are possessed with Devils, and that no good could be done to them till their Baptism was set right. Then to work they go with them, as to their Baptism, with their Latin Charms, their Salt, Spittle, Oyl, *&c.* and gave them new names. This being done, they took all occasions to tell them strange stories of Exorcisms in forrain Countreys, the manner of the fits of possessed persons, and the words they spake, and the sights they saw, how they roared at the approach of any Sacred Relicks, how they could not abide the sight of the Sacrament, or the Priests, how they would greatly commend Hereticks, and complain

complain that they were burnt if the Priests did but touch them. By this they very well understood their parts, and they were soon put upon shewing their skill in acting them; for at the first Mass that ever one of the Maids saw, she was put into the *Holy Chair*, and they bound her with Towels, then one of the Priests read in his *Book* of *Exorcising*, but finding no alteration in her, but only from her fear, they made her drink about a Pint of Sack & Sallet Oyl being hallowed and mingled with Rue and some kind of Spices, which they called the *Holy Potion*. The Maid loathed the taste of it, which they told her came from the Devil, who hated nothing more than that Holy Drink, but she was forced by degrees to drink it up. Then she grew very sick and giddy, and fell into a cold sweat, which made her begin to believe her self possessed. After this they burned Brimstone with other things, and made her hold down her face over the smoke of it: which they did, till they made her look black in the face. By this horrible usage, the Wench fell first into a rage, and spake she knew not what, then it intoxicated and benummed her senses, and at last she fell into a swound: and when she came to her self, told them they had almost killed her; and some of them after this usage (which was common to all whom they would

would have believed to be poſſeſſed) were reſolved rather to make away themſelves, than endure it again. They had invented pretty names for the Devils which poſſeſſed them, *Frateretto*, *Fliberdigibbet*, *Hoberdidance*, *Tocobatto*, *Kellico*, *Porterichio*, *Motabizanto*, *Maho*, *Modu*, *&c.* When ever they cryed out with pain and ill uſage, they ſtill ſaid, it was the Devil in them, ſo that at laſt they were forced to comply with them, and to ſay juſt as they would have them for their own eaſe. Then the work went on well, and the Devil commended the Queen and the Proteſtants, but declared a great hatred of Holy Water and Relicks, eſpecially of *Campians* Thumb and *Brians* Bones, when they applyed them to them. All the dreams they had in the night paſſed for Viſions; and as often as the Exorciſts pleaſed, what ever they ſaid or did was not by themſelves, but by the Devils in them. But at laſt, when ſome of their own party diſliked their doings, and they were in great fears of having their horrible impoſture diſcovered, they ſoon diſpoſſeſſed all the Devils out of them. Then their care was to prevent diſcovery by theſe perſons, whom they diſpoſed of in ſeveral places, and fed with money and promiſes, and kept from their Friends, and ſometimes threatning them, that if they confeſſed any

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thing, the Devil would poſſeſs them worſe than before: and withal told them, that without an Oath they might ſay any thing to excuſe themſelves; but *Harrington* a Prieſt, that had taken to himſelf one of the Wenches afterwards, under pretence of marrying her; told *Friſwood Williams* which was her right name, that if ſhe were examined upon Oath, the Church did diſpence with her, ſo as ſhe might anſwer what ſhe thought good notwithſtanding; becauſe an Oath did not bind her to confeſs any thing that might tend to the diſhonour of their Prieſthood, or of the Catholick Church.

Before this impoſture was diſcovered, it did the Prieſts very great ſervice, for *Anthony Tyrrell* one of the *Prieſts* in his examination confeſſed, that in the compaſs of half a year, they had gained five hundred perſons to their Church; and ſome ſaid three or four thouſand. And the Prieſts had written ſeveral Books concerning the miracles wrought by them, full of moſt notorious forgeries, as appeared by the particular examination of the Perſons pretended to be diſpoſſeſſed by them. *Tyrell* ſaid that *Weſton* the Provincial of the *Jeſuits* had written a Quire of Paper of the *Viſions* of *Mainey* one of the perſons out of whom he ſaid he had caſt out Devils; and another Book to prove the continuance

tinuance of this power in their Church, and to ſhew the vertue of holy Relicks eſpecially of their late Tyburn Saints, *Campian*, *Shervin*, *Brian* and *Coltam*. This buſineſs making ſo much noiſe put the Perſons in Authority upon enquiring more ſtrictly into it; and having at laſt ſeized upon ſome of the Perſons concerned in it, in their ſeveral examinations upon oath they confeſſed the whole cheat, as I have delivered it from them. Their examinations were entred upon Record in the *Court of High-commiſſion*, and afterwards publiſhed *A. D.* 1604. with a particular declaration of the whole impoſture. In which any perſon may ſatisfie himſelf of the Truth of what I have reported, and abundance of circumſtances which I have omitted. *Tyrell* the Prieſt upon his oath *June* 15. 1602. declared in his confeſſion written with his own hand, that having peruſed the examinations of *Sara Williams* and *Friſwood* her ſiſter, of *Anne Smith* and of *Richard Mainey*, he was fully perſwaded that they have depoſed the truth in ſuch points whereof they were examined belonging to their pretended poſſeſſion or diſpoſſeſſion. The effect whereof, ſaith he, is, *that they were drawn by our cunning carriage of matters, to ſeem, as though they had been poſſeſſed, when as in truth they were not, neither were any of the Prieſts ignorant in my Conſcience of their diſſimulati-*

no, nor the parties themſelves, (as now it appeareth) of our diſſembled proceeding with them. And afterwards adds a very material thing, *viz. For although both my ſelf, (and ſo I think of the reſt) did know that all was but counterfeit, yet for as much as we perceived that thereby great credit did grow to the Catholick cauſe, and great diſcredit to the Proteſtants, we held it lawful to do as we did. For the general conceit*, ſaith he, *among all the Prieſts of that Order is, that they may deny any thing, which being confeſſed doth turn to the diſhonour of the Catholick Church of* Rome: and concludes his confeſſion with ſaying, *that they do not account it evil, (as I verily think) to calumniate the Proteſtants by any device whatſoever, that may carry any probability with it, nor make any Conſcience at all to tell and publiſh any untruths, which they think, being believed, may advance and promote ſuch points and matters as they take upon them to defend for the honour of the Church of* Rome *and dignity of their Prieſthood.* Judge now, Reader, whether ſuch perſons do not deſerve the higheſt credit in all their ſtories of Miracles, who think it lawful both to cheat and lie for the ſake of their Church.

Not twenty years after the diſcovery of this impoſture we find them at the ſame work again, when they writ *the faithful narration*

of

of the proceedings of the Catholick Gentlemen with the Boy of Bilſon; with this ſentence at the beginning and end of it. *Non nobis Domine, non nobis; ſed Nomini tuo da Gloriam,* Whereas the hiſtory of this impoſture is ſo particularly laid open by the confeſſion of the Boy himſelf, that it would make any others (but ſuch as have the impudence to compare their frauds and impoſtures with the miracles of Chriſt and his Apoſtles) be aſhamed ever to mention or own it.

Such another impoſture *Thuanus* at large relates concerning *Martha Broſſier*, *A.D.* 1599. which gave great diſturbance in *France*, happening ſo ſoon after the edict of *Nants*. One *James Broſſier* being weary of his poor imployment at home, wanders from place to place with his three Daughters, and this *Martha* pretended to be poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, and although the cheat was diſcovered in other places, yet at *Paris* they hoped to meet with ſome who would be ready to make uſe of ſuch a counterfeit poſſeſſion for their own ends; accordingly there the *Capuchins* preſently lay hold upon her, and perſwade the people ſhe was really poſſeſſed; the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Paris* diſliking the *Capuchins* proceedings appointed ſome of the ableſt Phyſicians in *Paris* to watch and examine her, who preſently ſuſpected the impoſture, but deſired further

Thuan. hiſt. l. 123.

time and advice. In the mean while *Fr. Seraphin* very solemnly falls to his *Exorcisms*, and she acted her part so artificially with writhing her body, rolling her eyes, and trembling of all her joynts as caused great astonishment in the Spectators; but at these words *Homo factus est*, she moved her whole body in so strange a manner from the Altar tothe doors of the Chappel, that *Fr. Seraphin* cried out; *if there be any Infidel yet among you let him come and try his strength with this Spirit.* At which *Marescot* the *Physitian* said he would do it; then the cunning Gypsie cried that the Spirit had left her; wherein she was seconded by the Exorcist. While the Physitians were by, she lay very still, but she no sooner thought them gone, but she was at her old tricks. Then these Physitians were shut out and others brought in, who would be more favourable to the design; and by these a certificate was drawn up attested by themselves that she was really possessed; and an Abbot affirmed that when she was held by six men she got above their heads four foot into the air and there stood. When this account of her was published, *Marescot* confuted it answering all their arguments and giving an account of all the strange Symptoms which were seen in her. But so much were the people moved by this, that there was great danger of a tumult, the

King

King therefore gave order to the Parliament to prevent riotous meetings and to commit the pretended poſſeſſed perſon to the care of Phyſitians, who returned this anſwer that they could find nothing præternatural in her; then great clamours were made by the people and ſeditious Preachers that the priviledges of the Church were infringed, and that all this was done in favour of the *Hugonots*; to take away from the Catholick Church the glory of her Miracles: after ſevere animadverſion on theſe factious Preachers and Friers; *Martha* was ſent home with her Father and Siſters, and confined thither. But the *Biſhop* of *Clermont* and his Brother carried her away to *Avignon*, and refuſed to obey the ſummons ſent them by the Parliament; and the King ſent to Cardinal *Oſſat* his Ambaſſador at *Rome* to acquaint the Pope with the whole matter, before they came thither: It happened that *Sirmondus* was then with Cardinal *Oſſat*, him he imploys to the General of the *Order* of *Jeſuits* (who were ſuſpected to be friends to the Brothers who had been bred up in their Society) that if they medled in this matter, it would be their greateſt hindrance to their reſtitution in *France*, which they had then good hopes of. Upon this, the *Jeſuits* forſook them, and they were forced to ſubmit to the King; and ſo poor *Martha* was quite

disposessed. Thus we see what intrigues and designes are carried on by such impostures in the Roman Church; that when such things escape examination they pass for Miracles, but when they are throughly searched into, they appear to be meer cheats and impostures.

I shall conclude this discourse of impostures with these passages out of the *Lord Herbert's History* of *Henry* 8.

Herberts Hist of Henry 8. A.D. 1538. p. 431.

"The King having issue Male, proceeded "more confidently in his designs; and because "he knew that the pretended and false mira- "cles of Priests had seduced many ignorant "people to a superstitious obedience to the "*Romish See* and reverence of *Monasteries*, "he resolved to detect them, at least as many "as he could; for divers were so cunningly "represented, as they had kept their credit "for some ages; the manner of these times be- "ing, if a man were restored to his health up- "on a Pilgrimage, or obtained any thing he "desired upon a vow to some Saint, never "to study other cause. And here out of our "Records I shall mention some of the Images "and Relicks to which the Pilgrimages of "those times brought devotion and offerings; "as our Ladies girdle, shewed in eleven seve- "ral places, and her Milk in eight, the Bel "of St. *Guthlac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* "of *Lancaster*, both remedies for the Head- "ach

"ach: the Pen-knife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of "*Canterbury*, and a piece of his Shirt much re-"verenced by great-bellied women: the Coals "that roasted St. *Laurence*; two or three heads "of St. *Ursula*, *Malcus* his Ear; and the pair-"ing of St. *Edmonds* Nails; the Image of an "Angel with one Wing which brought hither "the Spears head that pierced Christs side; "an Image of our Lady with a Taper in her "hand, which burned nine years together "without wasting, till one forswearing him-"self thereon, it went out; and was now "found to be but a piece of wood: our Lady "of *Worcester*, from which certain veils and "dressings being taken, there appeared the "statue of a Bishop ten foot high; these and "others were now brought forth and with "great ostentation shewed to the people. "Among which were two notable Trumpe-"ries I cannot omit: One was the *Rood* of "*Grace* at *Boxley* in *Kent*; which being made "with divers vices to turn the eyes and move "the lips was shewed publickly at St. *Pauls* "*Cross* by *John Bishop of Rochester* and there "broken and pulled in pieces. The other "was at *Hales* in *Glocestershire*, where the "Blood of Christ brought from *Jerusalem* be-"ing kept (as was affirmed) for divers Ages, "had drawn many great offerings to it from "remote places: and it was said to have this

" property, that if a man were in mortal sin,
" and not absolved he could not see it; other-
" wise very well: Therefore every man that
" came to behold this Miracle confest himself
" first to a Priest there, and then offering some-
" thing to the Altar, was directed to a Chap-
" pel where the Relick was shewed; the
" Priest who confest him (in the mean while)
" retiring himself to the back part of the said
" Chappel, and putting forth a Cabinet or
" Tabernacle of Chrystal, which being thick
" on the one side that nothing could be seen
" through it, but on the other side thin and
" transparent they used diversely: For if a rich
" and devout man entred, they would shew
" the thick side, till he had paid for as many
" Masses, and given as large Alms as they
" thought fit: after which (to his great joy)
" they permitted him to see the thin side and
" the blood. Which yet (as my Author a
" Clerk of the Council to *Edward* the sixth
" and living in those times affirms) was
" proved to be the blood of a Duck every
" week renewed by the Priests, who kept the
" secret betwixt them. Besides which, the
" Images of our *Lady* of *Walsingham*, of
" *Ipswich*, of *Fenrise*, of *Islington*, and
" St. *John* of *Oswlston* (called otherwise
" Mr. *John Shorn*) who was said to shut up
" the Devil in a Boot; and divers others were
" publickly burnt. " And

"And by this means the Monasteries grew "infamous where most of these Images were "kept, and divers were undeceived who be-"fore held a Reverend opinion of these pre-"tended Relicks and Miracles.

"After which, he relates, how the King P. 437, 438.
"discovered the Forgery of the Miracles pre-"tended to be wrought at *Thomas Beckets* "shrine, and that the Scull which the People "did so much venerate, was not his own, "that being found together with his body in "the Tomb.

I leave it now to the judgement of the Reader, what credit such Miracles deserve, which are reported by Persons who think it lawful to lie in these matters, and which, where strict examination hath been made, have been discovered so often to be notorious impostures? And this may abundantly suffice for the first particular, which was the comparing the Miracles of the Roman Church with those of Christ and his Apostles in point of credibility.

§. 12. 2. I come to compare them as to the Testimony given by them to Infallibility, *i. e.* whether the Miracles supposed to be wrought in the Roman Church do equally prove that Church Infallible as those wrought by Christ and his Apostles did prove them Infallible. For

Their Miracles being granted do not prove their Churches Infallibility.

For clearing of this I ſhall premiſe theſe particulars.

1. That it is agreed on both ſides, that the miracles wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, did ſufficiently prove that they were Teachers ſent from God. For we are aſſured by the univerſal Teſtimony of all Chriſtians (not contradicted by their greateſt Adverſaries) that the firſt Preachers of the Chriſtian Religion did work ſo many, ſo publick, ſo great miracles, that all impartial Perſons could not but look upon them as perſons immediately ſent by God. And Chriſt himſelf declared *that this was* the end for which he
Matt. 11. 5. John 5. 36. 15. 24. did thoſe miraculous works, *that men might believe by them that God had ſent him*, that without theſe *men might have had an excuſe for their Infidelity*, that *his works did bear witneſs of him*; And his Evangeliſt declares,
20. 30, 31. *that this was the end for which theſe miracles are recorded, that men might believe that Jeſus was the ſon of God.* Afterwards, when he was riſen from the dead and he ſent abroad his Diſciples to preach the Goſpel, he told
Mark. 16. 17, 18. Heb. 2. 4. them that *God would bear them witneſs by divers ſigns and miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt*, of which we have a full account in the Books of the new Teſtament. As to all which miracles we have not the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion of any fraud or impoſture, being

publickly

publickly done in the preſence of enemies, and written in a time when the Teſtimony of Writers might be eaſily contradicted, and when all imaginable way's were uſed to make the firſt Witneſſes of theſe things to recant their Teſtimonies, by the greateſt ſeverities and perſecutions: in ſtead of which they perſiſted with great reſolution and laid down their lives rather than weaken the Teſtimony which they had given. Thus we ſee ſuch great and extraordinary effects of Divine Power which we ought to call miracles, were wrought by Chriſt and his Apoſtles on purpoſe to confirm their own Authority that they were Perſons ſent from God, and therefore could not deceive the World in the doctrine delivered by them.

2. The Authority and Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles being thus confirmed by the miracles wrought by them, there cannot be any ſuch neceſſity in ſucceeding Ages to confirm the ſame doctrine by miracles. For if it were once fully proved by thoſe miracles then wrought, there can want nothing further to eſtabliſh the faith of ſucceeding Ages than a certain conveyance of thoſe miracles to them. Thoſe miracles being wrought for the benefit of ſucceeding Ages, as well as of that preſent Age: And if thoſe miracles would not ſerve for the Ages following as well as that preſent time

time, it might with as much reaſon be ſaid that then they did ſerve only for thoſe who ſaw them. For on the ſame ground that Perſons then, in regard of diſtance of Place, were bound to believe although they did not ſee them wrought; ſo likewiſe are others in regard of diſtance of time, only ſuppoſing the certainty of conveyance to be equal. But it is with much advantage to us, by the concurrent Teſtimony of ſo many Ages, and the effects of the doctrine confirmed by thoſe miracles upon ſo many nations of the World, notwithſtanding all the Power and ſubtility which were uſed againſt it.

3. The leſs the neceſſity and the greater the pretence to miracles, ſo much more reaſon there is to ſuſpect them. Becauſe God, we are certain, doth not imploy his Power in going beyond the common effects of nature to little or no purpoſe. When we ſee, that in all the writings of Scripture miracles were very ſparingly wrought, unleſs it were for the confirmation of a new Religion, as that of *Moſes* and *Chriſt*; if afterwards we find ſuch abundance of miracles pretended to, that no Age or Country of one ſort of men, but give out that multitudes of theſe are done among them, what, muſt we think that God hath changed the Method of his Providence? and not rather, that God is true, but ſuch men

men are liars, or through ignorance and credulity take those for miracles which are not so.

4. Those cannot be true miracles which are pretended to be wrought to confirm a doctrine contrary to what is already confirmed by miracles. For God will never imploy his power to contradict himself; he may in the establishing of one Religion foretel the comming of another afterwards in its room by his own appointment as in the Gospel succeeding the Law; but the latter miracles in this case do not contradict, but rather confirm the doctrine of the former; but when he hath declared that no other Religion shall come into the world after that which is confirmed by miracles, as it is with the Christian Religion, then to suppose miracles wrought to confirm any doctrine contrary to that, is to suppose that God by miracles should contradict himself. Therefore although in the beginning of a Religion, the doctrine is to be proved by miracles, yet that being once supposed, miracles afterwards are to be tryed by the doctrine. And then though an Angel from heaven should preach or offer to confirm any other doctrine by miracles than that which was first confirmed by Christ and his Apostles, we are bound to reject that doctrine and to suspect those miracles not to be from God.

5. Where

5. Where falſe and lying miracles are foretold by a doctrine confirmed by true miracles; there can be no reaſon to believe upon ſuch miracles till they are evidently diſtinguiſhed from ſuch as are deceitful. Now this is plainly the caſe in the Chriſtian Religion, Chriſt himſelf hath foretold that *men ſhall ariſe doing ſuch great wonders in imitation of him as ſhould deceive if it were poſſible the very elect*; and his Apoſtles: *that his greateſt enemies ſhould appear with all power and ſigns and lying wonders.* Can any thing be now more reaſonable than after ſuch forewarnings for us to examine all pretences of miracles, by trying whether they can be evidently diſtinguiſhed from all deceitfull appearances of miracles; which may be wrought by a power leſs than divine? For in this caſe the evidence muſt be ſuch, as the perſons concerned are to judge by; to tell them any diſtinctions which they cannot proceed by in the judgement of miracles, is to ſpeak impertinently, where rules of Judgement are required.

Matth. 24. 24.

2 Theſſ. 2. 9.

6. If the continuance of the power of miracles be aſſerted to prove the Churches infallibility in every Age, there muſt not only evident proof be given that ſuch miracles are wrought, but that they are wrought for this very end. For if God may work miracles for another

another end, either to ſhew his Providence in general, or particular Regard to ſome men, then the meer proving miracles cannot be ſufficient, but it muſt be ſhewed that theſe miracles could be wrought for no other end, but to prove the Church infallible.

Theſe things being premiſed I now come to ſhew.

1. That in the Roman Church, they cannot give any evident diſtinction between the miracles they pretend to, and ſuch which we are bid to beware of.

2. That they can never prove that the miracles wrought in their Church could be wrought for no other end, than to prove the infallibility of their Church.

1. That in the Roman Church they cannot give any evident diſtinction between their miracles and ſuch as we are bid to beware of. For which we are to conſider, that ſcarce any Religion or ſuperſtition hath obtained in the world, but it hath pretended to be confirmed by ſome kind of miracles; which in it ſelf is no more a prejudice to true miracles than ſophiſtical arguments are to true reaſoning. But thoſe who pretend to miracles in a Church which is founded on a doctrine confirmed by undoubted miracles muſt give ſuch evidence of the truth of them, as may apparently diſtinguiſh them from all falſe pretences.

For

For if they give no other answers to such pretences of miracles as they condemn in others, but what will destroy the Authority of the miracles asserted by themselves, then they can prove no more the Churches infallibility by their miracles, than either Philosophers, Heathens, or Hereticks could do by theirs. If the bare pretence of miracles would serve, for all that I know *Pythagoras* might deserve at least as much esteem as St. *Francis*, or St. *Dominick*; for the Scholars of the one delivered as unanimously the report of his miracles, as the Disciples of the other could do. *Pythagoras* his taming the *Daunian Bear*, (reported saith *Porphyrie* in his life by ancient Writers of good credit) and charging him never after to hurt any living Creature, was to my understanding as great a miracle as St. *Francis* his taming the Wolf. And his whispering the *Tarentine Bull* in the ear and perswading him to eat no more bean's, (who for his great abstinence afterwards was called *the sacred Bull*) was altogether as good an argument of the restoring the State of Innocency to him, as the command over brute Creatures was to St. *Francis*, or any other Legendary Saints. The Rivers saluting him (whether it were called *Caucasus* as *Porphyrie* hath it, or *Nessus* as *Laertius*, and *Jamblichus*; or *Cosas* as *Ælian*, or what ever were the true name

Porphyr. vit. Pythag.

name of it) was as great an argument of his Sanctity, as the Trees in *Turſellinus*, bowing to the Chappel of *Loreto* were of the miraculous ſanctity of it. Why ſhould not his being ſeen at the ſame time at *Metapont* in *Italy*, and *Tauromenium* in *Sicily*, be as great a wonder, as the being ſeen in ſeveral places at once has being reported of ſeveral of the Romiſh Saints? Why ſhould not his *golden thigh* be as miraculous, as the reſtored Leg at *Zaragoſa*? unleſs the *Prieſt Abaris* be proved a falſer witneſs, than *Hieronimus Brizids*; or the people of *Zarogoſa* leſs ſuſpected of partiality, than the *Greeks*, at the *Olympick* games: at which ſome Authors tell us *Pythagoras* ſhewed his *Golden thigh*. Why ſhould St. *Francis* his *Aſſe* that ſtood ſtill to hear him preach, be more miraculous, than the *Aſſe*, which *Suidas* reports, heard *Ammonianus* his *Lectures*? Why ſhould the ſpeaking of Images in the Roman Church prove the infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, more than it did in old Heathen Rome? for as the Roman Breviary ſaith *that an Image ſpake to Aquinas, and commended his writings*, ſo the old Roman Writers ſay, *that the Image of Fortune ſpake not once but twice to the Matrons and commended their dedication of her*: and ſo did the Image of *Juno Moneta* at *Veij* to the Souldier that asked her whether ſhe

Suid. v. Ammonian.

Val. Max. l. 1. c 8. n. 3. 4.

would go to Rome? to whom she answered, *She would.* Why may not *Æsculapius* his cure of the woman in his Tempeat *Epidaurus* mentioned by *Ælian* be thought as strange as *Xaverius* his appearing to *Fr. Marcellus Mastrilli* at *Naples* and curing him upon his promise to go to the *Indies*? which is another of the miracles so much magnified by *E. W.* If there be any difference, that of *Æsculapius* seems the greater miracle? Why should not the miracles attributed to the Emperours *Vespasian*, *Adrian*, and *Aurelian*, related by *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Spartianus*, and *Vopiscus*, have as much credit at least as those of the Legendary Saints? since the Writers of them are looked on as men of more sincerity and integrity, by those of their own Church, than the Authors of the Lives of the Saints are.

Ælian. de animal. l. 9. c. 33.

Tacit. Hist. 4. Sueton. Vesp. c. 7. Spartian. in Adrian. Vopiscus in Aurel.

But to come yet nearer, how can their pretended miracles prove the Church they are wrought in to be the true Church and infallible; since by their own confession, miracles to all appearance as great have been wrought among *hereticks* and in *a false Church*? And by the Answers they give to these we shall easily judge, how far they can give evidence of the truth of their own miracles. The Ecclesiastical Historians report several miracles that have been wrought by *Hereticks* and *Schisma-*

Schiſmaticks; *Philoſtorgius* attributes the power of miracles to the *Arian Biſhops*, to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, to *Agapetus* Biſhop of *Synada*, of whom he ſaith *that he raiſed the dead and healed all ſorts of diſeaſes*, to *Theophilus*, to *Aëtius*, *Eunomius*, *Leontius*, *Candidus*, *Evagrius*, *Arrianus*, and *Florentius*. *Socrates* attributes the ſame power to the *Novatians*; as to *Paulus* the Biſhop of that party when he was to baptize the Jewiſh Impoſtor, and the water miraculouſly diſappeared; And *Sozomen* to *Eutychianus* of the ſame party; And the *Donatiſts*, to *Pontius* and *Donatus* as we have already ſeen from St. *Auguſtin*. Now if the tryal of the Church in thoſe day's had been by miracles, I would fain know on which ſide the advantage had been? St. *Chryſoſtom*, diſowns any ſuch thing as a continuance of the power of miracles in the Biſhops of the Catholick Church, as beſides the places already produced to that purpoſe, may be ſeen in ſeveral others: wherein he ſuppoſes, *that there is not ſo much as a footſtep of that power of miracles left in the Church which was in the Apoſtles*; he aſſerts, *that God hath put a ſtop to miracles*, that *he doth not give it to the moſt worthy perſons*, that *they*

Philoſtorg. apud. Phot. Cod. 40. & apud Nicet. Choniat l. 5. c. 7. Philoſtorg. l. 2. tom. 8. l. 3. tom. 4. l. 4. n. 7. l. 9. n. 1. Sozrat. l. 7. c. 17. Sozom. l. 1. c. 14.

μὲν δυνάμεως ἰχνὸς οὐδὲ ἴχνος ὑπολέλειπται Chryſ. de ſacerd. l. 4. p. 35.

τὰ σημεῖα ἔπαυσεν ὁ θεὸς in Matth. hom. 33. νῦν δὲ οὐδὲ ἀξίους διδοῦ. Tom. 5. p. 277. Tom. 6 p. 148.

were intended only for unbelievers, and that there is no need of them where the Christian faith is settled. What now should be said in this case? for it is just the same as between us and the Church of *Rome*, the Catholick Bishops pretended no more to a Power of miracles than the Protestant Bishops do now; but the *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Novatians* and *Donatists* all challenged this power of miracles to themselves, therefore it is a plain case, if the Church of *Rome* be now in the right, then so were these Heretical and Schismatical parties, if the Protestants be mistaken, so were St. *Chrysostom* and the Bishops of the Catholick Church.

But what answer now do these men give to these instances? even such as very easily returns upon themselves, and upon the very same grounds we may overthrow the Authority of their miracles.

1. They say, *the testimony of the writers ought to be suspected of partiality to their own side.* So *Malderus* answers the Testimony of *Socrates*; saying *that he either feigned, or related these miracles to the honour of his own party*; but this answer is both false and destructive to themselves. It is false, because notwithstanding what *Baronius*, *Labbe* and others have said, *Socrates* was no *Novatian*, as *Henri Valesius*, hath well proved in his

Malder. in Thom. 2. 2. q. 1. art. 5. fol. 6.

his preface to his Hiſtory. But ſuppoſe he were, muſt the Authority of all Perſons be taken away that relate things to the honour of their own Church? what then becomes of all the miracles of the *Roman* Church? are they atteſted by any but ſuch who are well wiſhers to the truth of them? and that may go a great way in the belief of them. Were not *Gabriel de Aldama* the Vicar General and *Hieronymus Brizids* and the reſt of the ſubſcribers as great Friends to the Church of *Rome* and as much concerned for the honour of it, as *Socrates* could be for the *Novatians*? why then ſhould their teſtimony for the reſtored Legat *Zaragoſa* be more creditable than *Socrates* his, for *Paulus* the *Novatian* Biſhop? So that, if intereſt takes away all authority in theſe matters, then we cannot ſafely believe the Teſtimony of any in the Church of *Rome*, for the miracles wrought in it; if notwithſtanding that, the Authority of witneſſes ſtands good, then miracles may be wrought in heretical or ſchiſmatical Churches; and conſequently can prove nothing as to the truth, or infallibility of the Church. But neither the *Novatians*, nor *Arians*, nor *Donatiſts* were convicted of ſo many forgeries in this matter of miracles as thoſe of the Church of *Rome* have been; they never thought it lawful, that we can find, to tell lies for the

honour of their Church; both which we have already proved concerning the reporters of miracles in the *Roman* Church; and therefore their Testimony ought more to be suspected in this matter, than that of honest Heathens or Hereticks.

2. They answer, *that notwithstanding all the outward appearance of miracles, the things done by them might be no true miracles.* So *Malderus* goes on saying, *that the pretended miracle of* Paulus *the Novatian Bishop, was not such as did exceed the power of the Devil.* And *Bellarmin* grants *that there can be no infallible certainty of the truth of a miracle before the approbation of the Church*; the reason he gives is this, *because though the Devil can do no true miracles, yet he can do the greatest to appearance.* Now I would fain understand this, how miracles can prove the truth and infallibility of the Church, if the truth of miracles depends upon the Churches approbation? *i. e.* whether I must not first believe the Church to be true, before I can possibly be certain whether a miracle be true or not? I know, *Bellarmin* saith, *that the Church is proved by miracles not as to infallible certainty; but as to the evidence of credibility.* But what evidence of credibility can there be from miracles, where no one can be certain whether they be miracles or not? For

Bellarm. de notis Eccl. l. 4. c. 14.

the

the making faith credible by miracles doth ſuppoſe thoſe miracles to be firſt certainly known to be ſuch; but in this caſe, if the power of the Devil can extend ſo far, as that no certain difference can be aſſigned between true and apparent miracles, but from the Churches approbation, how is it poſſible the Church ſhould be certainly known by miracles, if the miracles cannot be certainly known but by the Church? So that for us to diſtinguiſh the miracles done by Hereticks and thoſe in the Catholick Church, we muſt appeal to the judgement of the Catholick Church; and yet our way to know, which is the Catholick Church ſaith *E. W.* and his Brethren muſt be by miracles; *i.e.* we muſt know a man by ſuch marks which we cannot know to be the marks of ſuch a man till we firſt know the man. But it may be others ſpeak more conſiſtently and reaſonably in this matter: and therefore,

3. They anſwer, *that although Hereticks may do real miracles yet not for the confirmation of their hereſie; but of ſome common truth.* So the ſame *Malderus* ſaith, *that the Novatian miracle being granted to be true, doth not confirm the errour of the Novatians, but the truth of the Sacrament, for the Jew was baptized before by the* Arians *and* Macedonians. So *Michael*

Mich. Medina de recta in Deum fide l. 2. c. 7. p. 53. Fevardent. not. in Iren. l. 2. c. 56.

Medina salves the miracles wrought among the Pagans, ***that they did give testimony to divine providence and not to their particular superstitions.*** *Fevardentius* confesses the Church hath never determined that Hereticks cannot work true miracles, and that those who hold the affimative have plain Testimonies of Fathers for them; which he there mentions. If this be true then miracles now can prove nothing as to the Truth or infallibility of the Church, when the communions of Christians are different from each other; for the miracles wrought may only be for the attestation of some common truths received among all Christians or to manifest the Providence of God to the world.

Lingendes Concion. in Quadrag. Tom. 2. Conc. 2.

Among their late writers none hath considered this difficulty with more care and diligence than Father *Lingendes* hath done, both with a respect to the miracles of Heathens and Hereticks. " To which he thus answers. " 1. That for the most part, they were false " and counterfeit, at least they were not true " miracles, if the name of miracle be taken " strictly and properly: for, saith he, either " they were meer illusions of the senses, or " they did not exceed any created power, ei- " ther in the substance or the manner of " them, and therefore the Devils might ea- " sily effect them. 2. That some circum-

" stances

"ſtances did diſcover the impoſture, when "true miracles were wrought in oppoſition "to them, as in *Pharaohs Magicians* and "*Simon Magus*: otherwiſe God would not "permit evil men to work miracles. 3. That "God hath given a moſt certain rule for the "tryal of miracles *viz. God is faithful and* "*cannot deny himſelf*: and therefore he can-"not be the Author of miracles whereby "things contrary to each other are confirmed. "Wherefore ſaith he, if a faith once eſta-"bliſhed by miracles be impugned by other "miracles, we are to believe the latter mi-"racles to be meer impoſture. For the Apo-"ſtle tells us, *that Jeſus Chriſt is not yea and* 2 Cor. 1. "*nay, but a Yea and Amen*; and *although* 19, 20. "*we or an Angel from heaven preach another* Gal. 1. 8. "*Goſpel, let him be Anathema:* See the "wiſdom of the Apoſtle: He brings us back "to the firſt preaching, which was not lightly "eſtabliſhed but with innumerable miracles, "which were moſt certain and moſt manifeſt: "from whence he concludes that all others "that are brought to confirm any doctrine "contrary to this ought to be rejected. But "of what ſort? even though an Angel or an "Apoſtle ſhould preach another doctrine; "for, ſaith he, among things impoſſible, "that is the moſt impoſſible that God ſhould "lie: which is far more impoſſible than that

"an

" an Angel ſhould; and conſequently what
" God hath once atteſted by miracles, can be
" leſs falſe than when an Angel hath atteſted;
" or the Apoſtle ſpake this, that by this means
" we may diſcover the Devil, when he trans-
" forms himſelf into an Angel of light. 4. If
" any true miracles were wrought among Hea-
" thens and Infidels, as it may be ſome were;
" yet none were ever wrought to confirm any
" falſhood or error, but for ſome truth, or
" ſome benefit to mankind, among which he
" reckons the miracles of *Claudia* the *Roman*
" *Lady* and of the *veſtal virgin* to give teſti-
" mony to their innocency. After this he
" deſcends to a more particular examination of
" the miracles of Hereticks and falſe Chriſti-
" ans; and as to theſe he lays down theſe propo-
" ſitions.. 1. That miracles are of two kinds,
" ſome ſtrictly and properly ſo called, which are
" effects exceeding all created Powers, either
" as to the ſubſtance or the manner of them;
" as the curing a man born blind, the raiſing
" the dead, *&c.* others, are ſuch as exceed
" the common power of nature, although
" there may be ſome ſecret and hidden cauſes
" of them that may lie within the compaſs
" of nature. The firſt ſort he ſaith, are the
" only undoubted teſtimonies of truth; but
" the other may be wrought by the Devils
" power, either by local motion, or the ap-
" plication

"plication of the power of natural Agents. Of "this ſort, ſaith he, are the miracles done "by falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets and by "Antichriſt; and among theſe he reckons all "manner of cures, when the diſeaſes are not "wholly incurable. 2. He ſaith that mira- "cles of this later ſort are equivocal ſigns and "may be referred to different cauſes, and "therefore nothing can be determined by them "conſidered in themſelves; becauſe they may "be done by a different power and for a dif- "ferent end. When they are done for often- "tation, or delight, or curioſity, they cannot "have God for their Author; much leſs when "they are wrought to confirm a falſe do- "ctrine, or for an evil end: therefore when "ſuch miracles are wrought for confirmation "of an error they have not God but the De- "vil for their cauſe. For although they be "æquivocal of themſelves, yet the determi- "ning of them to an evil end ſuch as the "confirmation of an error is, takes away all "æquivocalneſs in them. 3. He aſſerts, that "true and proper miracles in the firſt ſenſe, "although moſt commonly wrought by good "men as Gods inſtruments, yet may ſometimes "be done, by wicked men, and Hereticks and "Infidels. For which he inſtances in *Balaam*, "and thoſe our Saviour mentions, who ſhould "boaſt of the miracles they had wrought in

"his

"his name, which Christ doth not deny;
"but only rejects them for being workers of
"iniquity; and in *Judas*, who wrought mi-
"racles with the other Apostles, although
"we do not read that the *Blessed Virgin*, or
"*Joseph*, or *John* the Baptist ever wrought
"any. He observes from St. *Austin* that
"God gives this power of miracles to evil
"men when he denies it to good. 1. Lest
"the power should be attributed to the instru-
"ment: or seem to take its vertue from thence.
"2. Because miracles are not wrought for the
"good of the efficient, but for the good of
"others. 3. Lest men should set a higher
"value upon miracles than upon true good-
"ness and vertue. For, Saith he, this is a
"false consequence, such a man does mira-
"cles, therefore he is approved or his do-
"ctrine; such a place miracles are wrought
"in, therefore such a place is approved; for
"by this consequence, wicked men, Hereticks
"and Infidels would be approved, of whom
"it is certain that they have wrought mira-
"cles. 4. Such kind of miracles though they
"may be done by Hereticks can never be
"wrought for the confirmation of error; for
"that were to charge God himself with
"falshood; but miracles of the other sort he
"grants may be wrought for the confirmation
"of errors, because they are such as do not

"exceed

exceed the Devils power: and in this case to know whether they come from God or the Devil, must be taken from the end for which they are wrought; as he shews from S. *Austin.* From which discourse of *Lingendes* it follows, that since the confirmation of Christian Religion by miracles, the only certain way of distinguishing true and deceitful miracles is from the end for which they were wrought: For he grants that to all outward appearance, Hereticks and false Christians may do as great as any; nay God himself may use them as his instruments to confirm Truth by; but we are sure God cannot imploy his Power to confirm a falshood. Since therefore we are forewarned that men shall appear with such signs and lying wonders, *as would if it were possible deceive the very Elect*; since no distinction can be made from the things themselves between the effects of a created invisible power, and of a divine in most things which pass for miracles; since Hereticks may be Gods instruments in the most divine miracles for a good end, it necessarily follows that the pretence of miracles is far from proving the truth and infallibility of the Church wherein they are wrought, till it be made appear, that they are truly divine miracles, that they are wrought for this end to prove this Churches infallibility, and that the Churches infallibility

doth

doth not contradict any part of that doctrine which hath been already confirmed by the miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

2. They can never prove that the miracles wrought in the Roman Church, were wrought for no other end but to prove the Infallibility of their Church. When Christ and his Apostles wrought miracles to prove their Infallibility, they wrought the miracles themselves, and declared that this was the end for which they were wrought that men might believe *that they were Teachers sent from God*; but there is nothing like this in the miracles of the Roman Church: They are generally pretended to be done at some Shrine or Monument, or by a vision of some Saint, and among the most credulous people, but by no means for the satisfaction of Infidels or Hereticks, whose very presence is enough to spoil a well contrived miracle; but supposing the things true which are reported, what doth a restored Leg to a poor Boy at *Zaragosa* in *Spain* signifie to the proof of the Roman Churches Infallibility? or *Father Marcellus* his cure at *Naples* by a vision of *Xaverius*, to the proof of *Pius* the fourths Creed? If they will prove any thing by this way of miracles, let their Missionaries here among us, whom they account Infidels and Hereticks, do the same things that Christ and his Apostles

did

id for the conversion of Jews and Gentiles. et them heal all manner of diseases as pub-ckly, as commonly, as perfectly, as sudden-y as they did; and with no more art or cere-ony; let us see them raise the dead, and not hink we will be put off with *painted Straws*, r *counterfeit Trances*, which we hope they re ashamed of themselves; such things, I as-ure them, tend not to the credit of their ower of miracles among us, and do not much elp our faith in the belief of things done at great distance and in such places where cre-ulity and superstition reign. If you do mira-les in earnest do them before enemies, as Christ and his Apostles did, give us leave to tand by, that we may be satisfied from the ircumstances of them that they are true mi-acles, and wrought to testifie that your Teachers are sent from God. But you do not pretend to work miracles to confirm the Authority of your Teachers, for then of all per-sons your Popes should work the greatest mi-racles, and the Bishops who sit in General Councils, among whom this Infallibility is lodged, therefore there is no parallel between the miracles done in the Church of *Rome*, and those which were wrought by Christ or his Apostles. If all that had been pleaded in the Apostles times for their divine commission had been only that *a poor Boy had his Leg*

cut

cut off and ſtrangely reſtored, or that *ſome perſons were ſuddenly cured of a dangerous diſeaſe by the viſion of an Apoſtle*, would this have ever ſatisfied the world, that the Apoſtles were Perſons ſent from God and aſſiſted by an infallible Spirit? Suppoſing the matters of Fact were true, it might be reaſonably demanded, why God might not do ſuch extraordinary cures in ſome rare caſes, without making that Company of men infallible among whom they are done? For we ſee their own Writers acknowledge, that God may do real miracles even among Pagans and Infidels, to give teſtimony to his univerſal Providence. And *Suarez* particularly diſtinguiſheth in this caſe of miracles, ſaying *that a miracle may be wrought two ways.* 1. *Without reſpect to any truth at all to be confirmed by it, but only for the benefit of him that receives it, as in caſe of a miraculous cure or ſuch like.* 2. *When it is wrought purpoſely to confirm the truth of a doctrine.* Now I ſay, ſuppoſing I ſhould grant all that *E. W.* contends for, as to the truth of the two miracles he inſiſts ſo much upon, *viz. the cure of F.* Marcellus, *and the reſtored Leg at* Zaragoſa, what can this prove as to their Churches infallibility, if according to *Suarez* ſuch miracles may be wrought only for the benefit of thoſe who receive them? *Del-Rio* ſaith *this is no good conſe-*

quence,

Suarez de Fide diſp. 4. Sect. 3. n. 10.

quence, such a one wrought miracles therefore his faith is true, because God may work miracles by Infidels, but this consequence, he saith, *is good, such a one wrought miracles to confirm the faith which he professed, therefore his faith is true, because God cannot work miracles purposely to confirm a falshood.* But withall, he saith, elsewhere, *that the faith being now established, there is little or no necessity of miracles to confirm it.* Supposing then some true miracles to be wrought in the Roman Church, what consequence can be thence drawn for that Churches infallibility in doctrine, if those miracles are not wrought for that end? as *E. W.* never undertook to prove that they were. And if the consequence will not hold as to a particular person for the truth of his faith, from the bare working of miracles, neither can it for the truth or infallibility of a Church, for the same reason; for if God may work miracles by Infidels, he may likewise in a false or corrupt Church. *Maldonat*, another Jesuit confesseth *that since the Christian Religion hath been confirmed by miracles in the Churches beginning, there is no necessity of miracles for that end, and quotes* Gregory *and* Bede *for it; who compare the power of miracles to the watering of a plant which is only needful at first and is given over when it hath taken root.* So

Del. Rol. disquis. Magic. l. 2. c. 7.

L. 4. c. 4. quæst. 5. sect. 2.

Maldonat. in Matt. 16, 17.

that whatever miracles they ſuppoſe to remain in the Church, they do not look on them as wrought for the confirmation of any neceſſary part of Chriſtian faith, ſuch as the Churches Infallibility is aſſerted to be by

Andrad. defenſ. fid. Trid. l. 2. E. W. *Andradius* ſaith *that miracles are oftentimes falſe, but always weak proofs of a true Church.* Ferus, *that the doctrine of a Church is not to be proved by miracles, but miracles by the doctrine, viz.* becauſe Chriſt hath forewarned us of falſe Prophets doing ſo many ſigns and wonders. So that *Acoſta* ſaith,

Fer. in Math. 24. v. 23, 24.

Acoſta de temp. noviſſ. l. 2. c. 9. *that in the time of Antichriſt it will be a hard matter to diſcern true and falſe ſigns, when theſe later ſhall be many and great, and very like the true*; and he quotes it from *Hippolytus whom he calls an antient Writer*, that Antichriſt ſhall do far greater miracles than the cure of *Marcellus*, or the reſtored Leg at *Zaragoſa*, viz. *that he ſhall raiſe the dead as well as cure the diſeaſed, and have command over all the elements.* And I would underſtand from *E. W.* whether Antichriſts Church will not then be proved as infallible in this way as the Church of *Rome? Cajetan* determines that the Church hath no ground to determine any matter of doctrine now on the account of miracles; *becauſe the Devil may do ſuch things which we cannot diſtinguiſh from true miracles, as in great cures*, &c. *and becauſe ſigns were*

c. 18.

Cajet. de conſept. virginis c. 1.

were given for unbelievers, but the Church now hath the Revelation of Prophets and Apoſtles to proceed by: and becauſe miracles prove only a perſonal faith, i. e. *of one that ſaith he is ſent from God; and becauſe the doctrine of the Scripture is delivered to us with ſo much certainty, that if an Angel from Heaven ſhould deliver any thing contrary to it we are not to believe him; and laſtly, becauſe the moſt authentick teſtimonies of miracles among them,* viz. *in the Canonization of Saints, are not altogether certain, becauſe it is written every man is a lyer:* and he ſuppoſes *that faith muſt ſtand on a more infallible certainty than that of their miracles.* And many of their moſt learned Writers do aſſert, that there can be no certainty of the truth of any miracles among them, but from the Churches approbation; which is in effect to ſay, they do not believe the Church infallible becauſe of their miracles, but they believe their miracles to be true, becauſe they believe their Chruch to be infallible. For which *Paulus Zacchias* gives this reaſon, *becauſe wicked men and Devils may not only do miracles in appearance, but ſuch as are really ſo, as the inſtruments of divine Power; and becauſe credulous people are very apt to be deceived with falſe miracles inſtead of true.* And after he hath laid down the conditions

Paul. Zacchiæ Quæſt. Medico-Legal. l. 4. tit. 1. q. 1. n. 5, 6, 10.

of a true miracle he hath a chapter on pur-
q. 4. n. 3. poſe to enquire, *why ſince miracles very rarely happen, yet ſo many are ſtill pretended to in the Roman Church?* One cauſe he aſſigns of it is the monſtrous credulity of their people in this matter of miracles, who make ſo many, that he ſaith, *if they were to be believed, miracles would be almoſt as common as the ordinary effects of nature; for no odd or unuſual accident happens, but among them paſſes for a miracle; no man eſcapes out of a dangerous diſeaſe* (eſpecially if by the diſturbance of his Fancy, he imagines he had a viſion of ſome Saint as *Xaverius* or the like) *but he gives out he obtained his recovery by a miracle; no man avoids any great danger or trouble* (if he chanced to think of the Bleſſed Virgin in it, or made any addreſſes to ſome Saint, for I do not find that praying to God or Chriſt is ſo effectual for miracles as praying to the Saints is) *but this is cryed up for a mi-*
Riolan. Anthropograph. l. 1. c. 15. *racle.* *Riolanus* gives the relation of a man that was hanged and his body delivered to the Phyſitians to be diſſected, who found there was ſome life in him, and by letting blood and other means they recovered him, who afterwards returning to his own Country *Oetingen*, where there was a celebrated image of the Bleſſed Virgin, this very recovery was there painted for a ſubſtantial miracle. But

to return to *Zacchias*: *miracles*, ſaith he, *are made ſo common among us, as though God had nothing elſe to do with his Power but to pervert the courſe of nature by it at the beck of any idle fellow; as if God did not manage his power, as he does all things elſe, with infinite wiſdom; as if God imployed his extraordinary power without great and moſt urgent cauſes. For when it was neceſſary to ſhew his power for the confirmation of the Chriſtian Religion and the ſatisfaction of unbelievers, then all perſons might ſee the wonderful works of God: but now*, ſaith he, *when the Truth of Chriſtianity is known it would be to no purpoſe for God to ſhew ſo many miracles. But whence then comes it, that ſo many miracles are ſtill talked of? This ariſes*, ſaith he, *from the devotion of ſome who attribute ordinary effects of nature to a miraculous Power; and from the Superſtitious folly and fraud of others who will not endure any thing cryed up for a miracle ſhould be ever queſtioned by any; but ſay, it is profane, Atheiſtical*, and which is ſomewhat worſe, *heretical to do it. Whereas poor wretches, they do not think what injury they do the Catholick cauſe, while they go about to ſtrengthen it with lies and forgeries; when the Chriſtian doctrine is already fully confirmed by the moſt true and undoubted mi-*

racles of Christ and his Apostles. What need they then to feign any new miracles? Doth God need your lies, will ye talk deceitfully for him? as *I may justly use the words of* Job, *saith he, of these men.* Another cause of so much talk of miracles in the Roman Church, he saith, is *Ignorance; whereby any extraordinary accident, though such as might happen, where Christianity was never known, is extolled for a miracle.*

N. 7.

Quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre possunt, hæc fieri divino numine rentur.

N. 9. From hence he proceeds to particulars, and shews, that most of those who are accounted possessed among them are *Melancholy* and *Hypochondriacal men and Hysterical women;* and then examins the pretence to *Inspiration* and *Prophecy, to raptures and extasies*, to *miraculous cures*, to *prodigious fastings*, to *incorruption of bodies*, to *raising from the dead* and shews under every one of these heads, how very often the meer effects of nature pass for miracles in the *Roman* Church; to whose learned discourses I refer the Reader: and we may easily understand the meaning of such a person, when he tells us after all this, *that the Church will not suffer men to be deceived about miracles, but such as the Church approves*

Quæst. 5. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

approves are to be approved. Now let any one judge whether ſuch perſons who receive no other miracles, but ſuch which the Church commands them to believe, could ever imagine that the Infallibility of their Church was proved by ſuch miracles, which they would not believe to be true, unleſs they firſt believed the Church which approved them to be infallible. *Fortunatus Scacchus*, a man of great Authority in *Rome*, grants *that it is a very eaſie matter to take falſe miracles for true; and that no certain argument can be taken from Tables which are hung up at Images or ſhrines; that wicked men may do real miracles, which he proves from Scripture and Hiſtory, and the continued practice in their Church*, from whence he concludes, *that no argument can be drawn for the ſanctity of any Perſon, but only from ſuch miracles as are approved by the* Roman *Church. For*, ſaith he, *it belongs only to the Authority of the* Roman *See, and the Biſhop of* Rome *to determine which are true miracles? becauſe the promiſe of infallibility is only made to the* Roman *Church and the Head of it.* From whence he concludes, *that no other Biſhop hath any Power to approve miracles, eſpecially if they be ſuppoſed to be wrought by an uncanonized Saint.*

Fortun. Scacch. de notis & ſignis ſanctitatis ſect. 8. c. 1.

For we are to underſtand, that the great

uſe of miracles in the *Roman* Church, hath not been pretended to be for proving the faith or Infallibility of the Church, but for an argument of Saintſhip of thoſe who are to be Beatified or *Canonized*. So *Aquinas* determines, *that miracles are either wrought to confirm the truth of a doctrine preached; or for the demonſtration of the Sanctity of a Perſon*; and therefore in the Proceſs of *Canonization*, one main enquiry is, about the miracles wrought by the Perſon who ſtands for the preferment of *Canonization*. In the Proceſs about the *Canonization* of *Andreas Corſinus* preſented to *Paul* 5. the *Auditours* of the *Rota*, ſay, *that to the Being Canonized, it is concluded by all to be neceſſary that the perſon have wrought miracles: and there they agree that it is not neceſſary to a miracle to be wrought for the confirmation of faith, ſeeing miracles may be done for another end* viz. *for the proof of the Sanctity of the Perſon. And ſuch miracles* ſay they, *are thoſe which are done among Catholicks, for whoſe ſake miracles would be neceſſary on no other account: becauſe miracles are a ſign not to believers but to unbelievers; whence*, as they well obſerve from *Iſidore St.* Paul *cured the Father of Publius by a miracle, but preſcribed to Timothy a natural remedy.* And *Contelorius* cites many other proceſſes of *Canoni-*

Aquin. 2. 2. quæſt. 178. art. 2.

Proceſſus Canoniz. B. Andreæ Corſini part. 2. ſect. 3.

nonization to the ſame purpoſe *viz.* to prove *that it is not neceſſary to a miracle that it be done for the confirmation of any part of Chriſtian faith.* Since therefore the far greateſt number of the miracles in the *Roman* Church, are ſuch as are wrought for another end how can they from them prove the infallibility of their Church? unleſs they can make it appear that where ever there are true Saints, the Church is Infallible. From which it appears, that the miracles of the *Roman* Church ought no more to be compared with thoſe of Chriſt and his Apoſtles as to the Teſtimony by them given to Infallibility, than in point of credibility; and that in both reſpects they are, ſo infinitely ſhort of them, that nothing but the height of impudence could make any man, pretending to be Chriſtian, to aſſert, that as great (nay greater) miracles have been done by the *Roman* Church, as ever were done by Chriſt or his Apoſtles, in which ſubject I have taken the more pains, not meerly to detect the frauds and impoſtures of the *Roman* Church; but to preſerve and vindicate the Honour of Chriſtianity, leſt that ſhould ſuffer by the intolerable rudeneſs of theſe compariſons.

Contelor. de Canoniz. Sanctorum. Cap. 19. n. 7.

The END.

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